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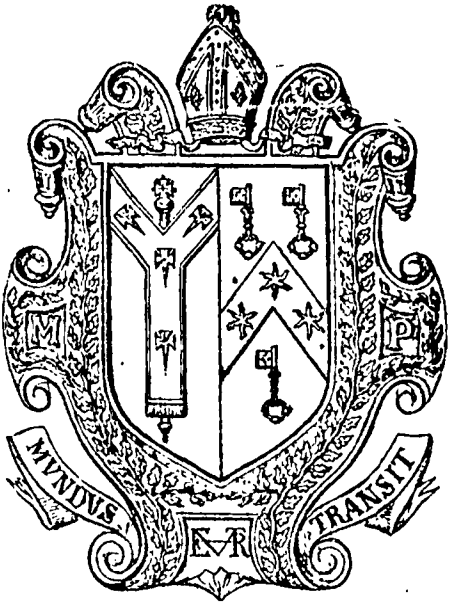
THE WORKS

OF

ROGER HUTCHINSON.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

THE

WORKS

OF

ROGER HUTCHINSON,

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND AFTERWARDS OF ETON COLLEGE, A.D. 1550.

111652

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY

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* Now first published

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

ROGER HUTCHINSON.

Few incidents in the life of the author of the following pages have been recorded. Some peculiar words which occur in his works[1] would have led to the inference that he was one of the many champions for religious truth which, at the period of the Reformation, were sent forth by the northern counties of England; and that inference would have been a little strengthened by the circumstance that one of the witnesses to his will is, "John Hutchenson at Roklyf:" but Bale has stated[2], that he was a native of Hertfordshire. Bale however gives no authority, and as our author was connected with Rickmansworth in that county at one period of his life, that circumstance may have led to Bale's statement. He himself has told us, that his father's name was William Hutchinson[3]; but where he resided, or when, or where, our author was born, does not appear.

He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, "the chief nursery in those times of the favourers of true religion and solid learning[4];" and was contemporary there with Cheke, Ascham, Cecill, Lever, Grindal, Sandys, Pilkington, and other eminent men. He was admitted a fellow of St John's on the 14th of March, 1543[5], and a senior on the 28th of March, 1547[6]; and in October of the latter year was associated with his "well-beloved friend Thomas Lever[7]"

[1] These and other peculiar and obsolete words are noticed in the glossary which is printed with the Index. [2] Illust. Script. ix. cent. lxxxv.

[3] Post, p. 128. [4] Strype's Parker, i. 421.

[5] Addl. MS. Brit. Mus. 5850, fol. 335. [6] Addl. MS. 5850, fol. 337.

[7] Post, p. 146. It is observable that the words "I and my well-beloved friend Thomas Lever and others," from which I here quote, were altered in the second edition of The Image to "I, Master Whytehead, Thomas Lever, and others." Lever and Whitehead were men of equal celebrity and very similar lives. Both were warm supporters of the Reformation, both preachers of great eminence, both exiles

in a disputation held in the college chapel upon the question then uppermost in every man's mind, "Whether the mass was the same thing as the Lord's supper, or not?" Roger Ascham, who was present at the disputation, mentions it in a letter to Cecill, then Master of Requests to the Protector Somerset, in terms which are highly creditable to those engaged in it. "The question was handled," he says, "with great erudition by Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinson, whom I suppose you knew. They are both learned men[1];" or, as he expresses it in another letter, written by him for the college upon the same subject, "men learned, grave, and pious[2]." Hutchinson's conjunction with a man so distinguished as Lever to maintain a disputation upon a point so momentous, indicates the consideration in which he was held by his college; and such was the attention attracted by their arguments, that it was proposed to have the question debated more openly in the public schools: but some persons less zealous than the men with whom this movement originated, took alarm at the proposal, and procured it to be stopped by authority[3].

Hutchinson may next be traced in connexion with a subject which engaged the attention, and has in some degree sullied the reputation, of the leaders of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI.—the heresy and punishment of Joan Bocher, otherwise named Joan of Kent. It was the opinion of this unfortunate woman, that our blessed Saviour did not take his body from the Virgin Mary, but passed through her as light through glass. For holding that opinion she was summoned before the primate and certain other commissioners appointed to inquire concerning heresies[4], and by them was committed to prison, where she was

under Mary, and, under Elizabeth, both were ultimately deprived for non-conformity. Whitehead, who was a little the senior, died in 1571; Lever in 1577.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, App. xxxvii. Ascham's Epist. p. 287. Edit. Oxon. 1703. [2] Ascham's Epist. p. 335.

[3] Strype's Cranmer, Lib. ii. c. vi. App. xxxvii. [4] Rymer's Fœd. xv. 181.

kept more than twelve months, "in hope of conversion[5]". To that end she was also visited at various times by Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich, bishop of Ely, Latimer, and, as it now appears in the following pages[6], by Lever, Whitehead, and Hutchinson; and all these eminent men made strenuous but ineffectual endeavours to bring her to a more accurate belief. Hutchinson states an argument which he heard Lever adduce to her, and her acute reply to it. It appears from the accounts of Latimer[7] and Hutchinson, and from the entry in the Archbishop's Register[8], that she professed a belief in Christ's humanity, asserting only that he did not take it from the virgin, but received it in some manner "unknown and undefined in the scriptures:" and for that opinion, maintained with subtle reasonings, and occasionally with sharp and bitter words, she was led to the stake in Smithfield, and in accordance with the barbarous practice of several centuries, was consigned to the flames on the 2nd of May, 1550. Hutchinson's Image of God was first published in the same year, and his prefatory epistle is dated on the 26th of June; but the passages which relate to this unhappy woman were evidently written before her execution. However miserable her fate, and pitiable and humbling the consideration that the eyes of such men as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Lever and Hutchinson, were not sufficiently opened to perceive the antichristian character of the proceedings against her, it should be remarked that the new circumstance in the narrative of her treatment, which is here brought to light, affords an additional proof of the earnestness with which the Reformers endeavoured to bring her to a better mind.

And here, although but indirectly connected with our present author, it may be allowable to remark, how much undeserved odium has been thrown upon Archbishop Cranmer

[5] Edw. VI. Journal, May 2, 1550. Burnet's Reform. II. Pt. ii.
[6] See p. 145. [7] Sermon on St John the evangelist's day.
[8] Burnet, Vol. II. Pt. ii. No. xxxv.

in connexion with this case of Joan Bocher, in consequence of an erroneous statement of Foxe the martyrologist, respecting the importunity with which he urged, if not forced, the young king into the signature of the death-warrant upon which she suffered. All classes of objectors to the Reformation have availed themselves of this presumed fact, to magnify the clemency of the king by way of contrast to the primate's "importunity for blood[1]." Cranmer's advocates have apparently felt this passage in his life to be one extremely difficult, if not incapable, of defence. They have mostly contented themselves with alleging that it was contrary to the general tenour of his life, and with bringing forward the entry in the privy-council book to prove that he was not present when her fate was finally determined, and may therefore be presumed to have exhibited but little of the eager spirit of a persecutor. The last writer of the history of the Reformation[2] has gone a little farther, and has ventured to impugn the authority of this particular passage in Foxe, on the ground of the silence not merely of the king's journal, but also of the Romanist libellers of the primate, respecting the alleged interview. Nothing is more likely than that if the king's feeling had been such as Foxe represents, the entry in his journal would have been different from the one we find there[3]; whilst, if such an interview had really taken place, Sanders, and other writers of that class, would have been delighted to avail themselves of it against Cranmer; but it is unfortunate that Cranmer's defenders have not produced the whole entry in the privy-council book, instead of merely referring to it, in proof of the single fact of Cranmer's absence. Had that been done, it would long ago have occurred to some one, that it con-

[1] Hayward's Ed. VI. p. 16. Ed. 1636. [2] Soames, III. 544.

[3] "Joan Bocher, otherways called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding: That Christ was not incarnate of the virgin Mary: being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April the bishop of London, and the bishop of Ely were to perswade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death."

tains evidence that Foxe's story, for which he does not assign any authority, could not be true. Amongst the minutes of the business transacted by the council (who, be it remembered, under the will of Henry VIII. were the actual governors of the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI.) on the 27th April 1550, is the following entry;—

> "A warrant to the L. Chauncellor to make out a writt to the Shireff of London for the execuçon of Johan of Kent, condempned to be burned for certein detestable opinions of heresie."

It appears from these words, that, in conformity with the ordinary legal practice of the period, Joan Bocher was executed upon a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, addressed to the Sheriff of London, and issued out of Chancery, upon the authority of a warrant signed, not by the king, but by the council. It would have been contrary to constitutional custom for the king to have signed any such document; it is quite clear, from the entry quoted, that, in point of fact, he did not sign it; and the narrative which the worthy martyrologist was misled into inserting, and Cranmer's difficulty to cause the king to "put to his hand," and the tears by which subsequent writers have declared that his submission to the stern pleading of his spiritual father were accompanied, all vanish[4].

But to return to our author. "The Image of God"

[4] That no doubt may remain upon the subject I will add, i. That it was not customary for the king to attend the meetings of the council. ii. That whenever the council desired that the king should be consulted, or communicated with, an entry was made upon the council book similar to the following which occurs on the same day as the preceding: "It was agreed by the whole counsaill, that the king's majestie should be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debtes, and his leases yet ungiven." iii. That the persons present on the day referred to were: "The Lorde Chauncellor, The L. High Threasorer, The L. P. Seale, The L. Great Chamberlaine, The L. Chamberlaine, The L. Pagett, The Busshopp of Ely, Mr Threasorer, Mr Comptroller, Mr of the Horse, Mr Vicechamberlaine, Sir Rauf Sadler, Sir Edward Northe."

was first published in 1550, with a title of which a fac-simile is presented in this edition, and with the following colophon: "Imprinted at London by Jhon Daie, dwelling ouer Aldersgate and Wylliam Seres dwelling in Peter Colledge. The yere of our Lorde God MDL. the twenty and eight day of June. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." Although described on the title page as of Cambridge, it would seem that Hutchinson had left the University before the publication, as he dated his prefatory epistle from London. His object in his work was not merely to explain the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, but to do it in such a manner as to refute the more glaring errors of the church of Rome; to direct attention to some extraordinary assertions of Albertus Pighius, a great champion of that church; to controvert the errors of the Arians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, by whom the morning of the Reformation was clouded; and to press home upon all classes of the people the necessity for a personal as well as an ecclesiastical reformation. His book was indeed designed to be, as the second title expresses, a "Layman's Book," a manual of religious instruction for the laity, based upon that which he contended for as "the only touchstone to examine and try all doctrine," the holy scripture.

"The Image of God" was reprinted in 1560, after the author's death, with occasional variations from the previous edition, some of which were derived from a corrected copy given by the author to Day the printer. By the favour of St John's College, Cambridge, the present editor has been permitted to use a copy of the first edition, which is in the library of that college,—the only copy we know of—and has thus been enabled to exhibit in foot-notes the most material variations between the two editions.

In the year of the first publication of "The Image" Hutchinson was appointed a fellow of Eton College[1], and there the five sermons which form the remaining contents of

[1] Addl. MS. Brit. Mus. 4843. fo. 194.

this volume were preached. The author gave a copy of the first three to Day the printer, before the decease of Edward VI., but that event silenced Day's press, and delayed their publication until 1560, when they were appended, with a distinct title page, to the second edition of "The Image." These sermons are here reprinted from the edition of 1560.

The other two sermons are now published for the first time from a MS. preserved in the collection of MSS. which formerly belonged to the Royal Library in St James's Palace, and is now in the British Museum. This MS. is contemporary with the author: it contains corrections perhaps made by himself, and was not improbably presented to the Royal Library by Sir Henry Sidney, a personal friend of Edward VI., to whom the sermons are dedicated. Many passages of these sermons are founded upon writings of Chrysostom besides those directly quoted; and, in following that eloquent father, our author has been led into one or two statements respecting the atoning efficacy of affliction, which, had he seen them in print, he probably would have a little modified. These statements should be taken in connection with our author's opinions upon the same subject expressed in chapter xi. of "The Image," and certainly should not be understood as if meant by him to interfere with the one great atonement, which he so often and so clearly upholds.

In other passages of these sermons it seems, as if the vices of the times and the ill-health of the king, forewarned the writer to anticipate the darkness which was about to overshadow the land. When that time of affliction arrived, and some, as he says had before been the case, "were thrown into the Fleet, some into the Marshalsea, some were inclosed up into the Tower, some were racked, some scourged, other some burned, other some were defaced, slandered, and persecuted with venomous and lying tongues," he was probably deprived[2], as a married priest, of his fellowship at

[2] Addl. MS. Brit. Mus. 4843. fo. 194.

Eton, and, if he had lived, would have been called upon to take a further share in the sorrows of that melancholy period. The last glimpse we catch of him is pleasing and characteristic. After the persecution had begun, in his last illness, when confined to his bed, he contrived to convey to Day the printer, then a fellow-prisoner in Newgate with the Marian proto-martyr Rogers[1], a message full of hopeful anticipation for the future. "Lying on his death-bed," says Day, "he sent to me in my trouble, desiring me that whensoever Almighty God of his own mere mercy and goodness would look no more upon our wretchedness, but wipe away our sinnes, and hide them in the precious wounds of his Son Jesus Christ, and turn once again his merciful countenance towards us, and lighten our hearts with the bright beams of his most glorious gospel, that I would not only put these sermons of his in print, but also his other book, called The Image of God, the which he himself had newly corrected[2]."

He did not live to behold the realization of his anticipations, nor, indeed, to witness the worst troubles of the Reformers, being released from the miseries of that dreadful time, between the 23rd May, 1555, which is the date of his will, and the succeeding 15th June, when it was proved. From that document we learn that he was married, and had three children; and besides his wife Agnes, and his children, Thomas, Anne, and Elizabeth, he makes mention of his uncle Serle, and his cousin William Box the younger; to the last of whom he bequeathed his copy of Xenophon in Greek, in small volumes; probably the edition published at Hallo in 1540, in 3 vols. 8vo.

The "leases of Saynt Elleyns, and his advowson of Rickmansworth," which he leaves with his other property to his wife, seem to connect him with Bishop Ridley; for the priory of St Helen's, Bishopgate, and the advowson of Rickmansworth, were given to that prelate in right of his see

[1] Foxe II. 1356. [2] See p. 213.

by separate grants from Edward VI., dated on the 1st and 22nd April, 1550[3]. Hutchinson's leases were, no doubt, granted to him by Ridley, and were two of those which formed the subject of the martyr's last earthly thoughts and petitions. Upon Bonner's restoration Ridley's leases were called in question, and many poor persons who had paid fines for renewals were threatened to be turned out of possession. This harsh proceeding was a source of great affliction to Ridley: his last letter was addressed to the queen in their behalf, and his last words before the fire was kindled were these, addressed to Lord Williams: "There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say, the bishop that now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you[4]." What became of the leases to Hutchinson, has not been discovered; but considerable litigation ensued in respect of some which stood upon a similar footing, and those tenants who held out appear finally to have prevailed[5].

Of Hutchinson's personal character we know little. The only evidence respecting it is found in a letter of Roger Ascham's, which contains some passages relating to a dispute at St John's, in which Hutchinson was involved, but upon the merits of which it is difficult to form a judgment. He represents him as of a hasty temper, but asks, "what wise man would not readily overlook such a fault when it is compensated by so many virtues?"—and draws a character of him which may suitably close this brief notice: "If I am at all able to judge, he is a man of profound under-

[3] Clutterbuck's Hertf. I. 186. Newcourt's Repert. I. 364.
[4] Ridley's Works, 297, 427. [5] Strype's Mem. IV. 91.

standing, of singular learning, and yields scarcely to any one in strictness of life, and clear judgment in religion: he is true-hearted, and is most strenuously averse from popery[1]."

The following is a copy of his will:

Will of Roger Hutchinson.

In the name of God, Amen. The 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord a thousand five hundredth fifty and five. I, Roger Hutchinson, being of perfect mind and sick in body, make my last will in form and manner following. First, commending my soul into the hands of Almighty God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, and my body to be buried at my friends' discretion; I bequeath Thomas Hutchenson, my son, twenty pounds; and unto my daughter Anne, and to my daughter Elizabeth, to each of them ten pounds, to be paid out of my goods. The xx*li.* to be paid unto my son Thomas when he cometh to twenty years of age; and my daughters to receive their portions at the day of their marriage; and if it fortune any of them to die before they receive their parts, then such money as is due unto him or them that die to be parted equally among my children that remain and live. Item, I bequeath to my cousin William Box the younger, my Zenophon's works in Greek, in small volumes. All the rest of my goods, with my leases of Seynt Ellyns and my advowson of Rickmansworth, my debts paid and my legacies performed, I bequeath unto Agnes my wife, whom I make my sole executrix, and also I make mine uncle Serle the overseer of my will, and bequeath unto him for his pains 6*s.* 8*d.* Witnesses of this my will, Thomas Fawden; Masteres Anne Phillip; Avys More; Roger Laker; By me, John Hutchenson at Roklyf.

Proved before the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, *sede vacante*, 15th June, 1555, by the oath of Thomas Willett, proctor of Agnes, the relict and executrix.

[1] Ascham's Epist. 116. Edit. Oxon. 1703.

THE

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OR

LAYMAN'S BOOK.

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THE EPISTLE.

To the Most Reverend father, Lord Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, his most humble Roger Hutchinson wisheth peace, welfare, and eternal felicity.

Publius Scipio, he that was first surnamed African, right honourable father, was wont to say, that he was never less idle than when he was idle; meaning thereby, forsomuch as he was a magistrate, that he most earnestly thought and mused of commonwealth matters, when he seemed to others least occupied. A worthy saying for so noble a man, and to be embraced of all rulers, namely in these troublous days, in which so many things be disordered and need reformation. So, albeit I am no magistrate, as noble Scipio was, but a private person, yet I have thought it my bounden duty to see such hours in which I might have been unoccupied (which some spend in banquetting, rioting, and gaming) bestowed neither unthriftily ne idly, but to the profit of the commonwealth; to teach the lay people understanding and science to the utmost[1] extent of my small power. [Cicero de Officiis, lib. iii. c. 1.]

Understanding is a seed that God soweth in man's soul, and among all his gifts knowledge is the chiefest. It

[1] Utmost, 1550; uttermost, 1560.]

ordereth the mind, governeth the body, directeth all our works and affairs, teaching us what ought to be done, and what is to be left undone; without which neither a king can rule his subjects, nor the captain guide his army, nor a bishop instruct his flock, ne any man of science, or craftsman, shew forth and practise his art or occupation. Now, if we recount other things to be of great price and value, your wisdom knoweth, that the knowledge of God surmounteth so far all other sciences as God himself excelleth all other creatures. And the same, without denay, is most profitable and necessary both unto kings, dukes, earls, and lords, as appeareth Psalm ii., Deute. xvii., Esay xlix. where they be named "the nurses of religion;" and also unto gentlemen, merchantmen, yeomen, husbandmen; to all degrees spiritual and temporal. "Vain are all men which have not the knowledge of God," saith the wise man: and Paul testifieth, that, "because it seemed to them not good to have the knowledge of God, God gave them up into a lewd mind, to their own hearts' lust, and to all uncleanness." For, if he be light, such as know not him do stumble in darkness: if he be the way, they that be ignorant have lost their way: if he be the truth, all such as have no acquaintance with him be blinded and deceived: if he only be good, we must borrow and crave all good things of him alone: if all science be the Lord's, we must be θεοδίδακτοι, "God's scholars:" if he only be almighty, all our power, strength, and ability cometh from him: if he be life, the end of such as be ignorant, and will not seek to know the Lord, shall be eternal death. For our Saviour and Mercy-stock saith, that this knowledge is eternal life: "This is eternal life, to know thee and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, to be the true God." But we must fetch the right knowledge and true description of him out of holy writ, which, as the apostle telleth, is profitable to teach, to control, to amend, and to instruct in all righteousness. I have made

Wisd. xiii.
Rom. i.
1 John i.
John xiv.
Luke xviii.
Ecclus. xxiv. [24.]
Mark x.
John xvii.
2 Tim. iii.

this treatise of him out of the same; and forasmuch as my intent and matter herein is to portray and paint our Saviour Christ, who is the brightness of the everlasting light, the undefiled glass and lively image of the divine majesty, I do call it, THE IMAGE OF GOD: or else, because such things be here opened and discovered which be necessary to be believed and known of the lay and unlearned people (I would not have them utterly lack images) name it, if ye will, THE LAYMAN'S BOOK; for images were wont to be named *Libri Laicorum*, "the books of the laity." I am not the first that hath painted Christ: Paul painted him long sith to the Galatians, as he witnesseth, "I have painted Jesus Christ before your eyes, and have crucified him amongst you;". and all the other apostles, evangelists, and prophets, were painters. My mind is, not to portray any new, strange, or unknown Image, but to renew, and repair again, the old Image that Paul made, which hath been so darkened with glosses, and is so bespotted with colours of man's wit, so stained through shameful covetousness, liberty, and greedy ambition, that marvel it is to see men so unreverent towards the majesty of God their maker.

Heb. i. Wisd. vii. Gal. iii.

Seneca, a wise and sage philosopher, willeth that meet gifts be not unmeetly given to unmeet persons, as armour to women, nets to students, wives to boys; and Christ, the wisdom of God, commandeth, "Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast ye pearls before swine;" meaning thereby, that all kind of gifts ought to be agreeable and answerable to their degrees and vocations to whom they are given. Now, what thing could be devised more agreeable to your gracious estate than his Image, whose glory and honour you have always sought to advance, not without great danger of your goods and life?—for which you are bound to render him most hearty thanks, that he chose your grace for a blessed instrument to sweep clean

Matt. vii.

his house and church, to redress all abuses, and to restore again his fallen and decayed glory, maugre the head of all enemies. Therefore I do present and dedicate this Image, honourable father, unto your grace, both for the worthiness of the matter, which is incomparable; for the meetness of your person; for a perpetual monument of my good will towards your lordship; and also, for a testimony, token, and declaration, of my zeal and benevolence to my countrymen. If I shall see it to be profitable to them, I shall be encouraged to take mo fruitful matters in hand, in which I desire continually to occupy myself, but the world is so evil, so unkind, so unthankful to students, that poverty causeth them to remit and slack their studies, and to seek the world to maintain their necessities. Abundance and wealth dwelleth only with those which have God's houses in possession, which eat up his people like bread, and are not content to live upon their own sweat, but do live upon other men's goods and labours, upon the church goods, which are the poor's. I do mean all such as, in the papistical time, were wont to live of their lands, to keep good hospitality, to maintain schools and houses of alms; and now they be purchasers and sellers-away of the same, usurers, rent-raisers, graziers, and farm-mongers, whereby hospitality, tillage, and many good houses, be decayed in England, and the realm is unpeopled and disfurnished. Besides, some be beer-brewers, some farmers of benefices, some persons, some vicars, buyers of impropriations, some deans of colleges, some prebendaries, and officers also in the king's house. Again, priests, which should be preachers and distributers of the holy sacraments, be lawyers, commissaries, chancellors, officials, proctors, receivers, stewards: the office of salvation is unregarded through covetousness. And lawyers, which be no priests, be parsons[1], vicars, prebendaries, against the ordinance of God, of which St Paul recordeth,

[1 Persons, 1550; parsons, 1560.]

"Even so did the Lord ordain, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel," and no other, neither king, lord, gentleman, no lawyer. And yet this mingle-mangle of spiritual and temporal regiment and offices is suffered, as if there were neither God, ne magistrate ordained of God, to redress such abuses. What marvel is it if man's ordinances and statutes be broken, where the ordinance of God is plainly resisted, and not received? 1 Cor. ix.

Other some, that pretend they be true preachers of God's word, and are counted holy and discreet men, retained the king's chaplains, and with other lords both spiritual and temporal, be indeed benefice-mongers, prebend-mongers, have many archdeaconships, deaneries, and they do not the office of one of their vocations: some once a year, or twice peradventure, doth preach a sermon before the king, or at the Spittle[2], or at Paul's cross, to delude and paint the world, and to uphold their good names; but in the country, where is most need, and where their livings lie, they preach not at all; the most part never preach. Idle chaplains many years possess and withhold wrongfully preachers' livings. Is not the ordinance of God broken herein? Is not his proclamation disobeyed, which he proclaimeth by the mouth of St Paul, "He who laboureth not ought not to eat"? Had Eleazar and Abiather so many livings? Did Hely, Achimelech, and Sadoc, dispend so much of the costs of parishes, and do nothing therefore? Did temporal men amongst the Jews, in the old testament, thus live of the altar as they do now of the gospel? Look on their examples: behold the apostles; behold Timothe, and Tite; and if we do allow the doctrine of the primitive and apostolical church, let us follow 2 Thess. iii. Abiathar. Zadock. The apostles.

[2 The well known Spital Sermons were originally preached at a pulpit-cross erected in the churchyard of "the Spittle", or Hospital of St Mary, in the parish of St Botolph, Bishopsgate. Stow's London. Strype's Ed. Book II. 98.]

the example of the same. Behold the elder fathers, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Chrysostom, and others, which spent all their lives in preaching God's word to the people, as appeareth plain in their works, which be either sermons, lessons, homilies to the people, or else disputations and confutations of heresies in their times. Their trade was to preach and expound the scriptures to the people on the holydays, and on some workdays; and then they procured their expositions and sermons to be written in Latin or Greek, for the erudition of them which followed. Some begin to renew this trade now in England: I beseech Almighty God to prosper them. I am sure that the best learned of them is not able to prove that it ought to be otherwise, or that the scriptures do allow these pluralities of livings, dispensations, tot-quots of promotions, non-residences, impropriations, and this mingle-mangle. Paul commandeth every man to exercise that vocation whereunto he is called. He alloweth every man one vocation, one office and occupation, not many; for he saith, *in vocatione*, "in his vocation," not "in his vocations."

The elder fathers were preaching prelates.

1 Cor. vii.

I hear say an ecclesiastical law, which I have long desired, shall come forth shortly[1]: I trust therefore that all spiritual abuses shall be redressed speedily, without any consideration of private lucre to any man, high or low, spiritual or temporal, and according to the counsel of which David speaketh, saying, "The word of God is my counsellor." Truly, unless these things be reformed, English service, homilies,

[1 By the statute 3rd and 4th Edward VI. cap. xi., passed early in the year 1550, the king was empowered to authorise thirty-two persons to compile a new code of ecclesiastical law. This authority was not acted upon; but on the 11th November, 1551, a commission was directed to archbishop Cranmer and seven other persons, by which they were empowered to prepare a code of ecclesiastical law, for the consideration of the commissioners whom it was designed to appoint in conformity with the act of parliament. The code compiled by the eight commissioners was published in 1571, by Foxe, with the concurrence of archbishop Parker, under the title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*]

and the right use of the sacraments, do not make us christian men: we differ from the Turks but in outward rites and ceremonies, not in the substance of our faith, which is upright conversation and good life. But they which should reform others, some be entangled with the same vices themselves. Dicing and carding are forbidden, but dicing and carding-houses are upholden; some in their own houses, and in the king's majesty's court (God save his noble grace, and grant that virtue and knowledge may meet in his royal heart!) give ensample to his subjects to break his statutes and laws. Prisons in London, where men lie for debt, be dicing-houses; places of correction and punishment be dens and schools of unthriftiness; open drunkards have no punishment; adultery is recounted but a light matter; chaplains are found of the costs of poor parishes, through which disorder many thousands here in England be deprived of the sweet milk of God's word, and lack teachers to declare them their duties toward God and their king. This is not only my lamentation, but the lamenting of all true-hearted Christians, the voice of the commonalty, the decay of the commonwealth; and a joyful hearing, glad and pleasant news, to our enemies, that gape and look for the end of these matters, which will be destruction and ruin, if this darnel of covetousness and liberty, every man to do what him list, be not weeded out, and God's wrath pacified by some redress and amendment. For, seeing the head is so sick and diseased, what marvel is it if the body be so froward, so disobedient, and so desperate[2]? If thou wilt heal the body, thou must begin with the head; for his health cometh thence: I would say, the next way to make obedient and godly people is the godly ensample of magistrates. It is written: *Secundum*

[2 In these and some subsequent allusions to the unquietness of the times, Hutchinson glances at the insurrections in Norfolk, Cornwall, and other parts of England, which occurred in the year 1548.]

Ecclus. x. *judicem populi, sic, &c.*, "as the rulers of the people be, such are their subjects." They are named of God "the heads of the people," of others "the bellies of the commonwealth." As the head is troubled when the hand, the leg, yea, the little finger, suffereth anguish, and the belly sendeth sustenance to all the parts of the body; so rulers, in that they are called heads and bellies, are admonished of their office to regard the need and oppression of their subjects, and to care for the whole body of the commonwealth, lest, if they tender one part and oppress another, it breed and gender division, strife, rebellion, and parties, as it hath done. And they likewise are admonished to be obedient, tractable, and lowly of service. Nothing is more safeguard to a prince than the love and heart of his commons, and nothing is more dangerous, more slippery, than to be feared; for, as father Ennius said,

Ennius [Fragmenta Edit. Hessel. Amster. 1707, p. 298.]

"Quem metuunt oderunt:
Quem quisque odit, periisse expetit."
"Whom men do fear, him do they hate withal;
And whom they hate, they wish and seek his fall."

Ecclus. x. 1 Kings xii. And Jesus, the son of Sirach, saith: "An unwise prince spoileth his people." Look on the ensample of Roboam, and upon the good counsel that his young minions gave their king: I think he rewarded them for it afterward, as desirers of division and parties. They that will be feared of many, must needs be afraid of many. The glory of a king is the welfare of his subjects. "It was a merry world," quod the papist, "before the bible came forth in English; all things were good cheap, and plentiful." Nay, nay, if these things were reformed, and every man, both spiritual and temporal, were compelled by some law and statute to serve but in one vocation and one office, we should have a golden world; England would become a paradise; God would bless us, as he hath promised, both heavenly and bodily. The redress and amendment of enormities in the

commonweal must come from the magistrates, not by rebels; for they are powers exalted and ordained of God for the same intent, who healeth the body by the policy of the head, not of the feet. If not, we shall, instead of the comfortable promises of God, be destroyed and overwhelmed with terrible plagues, which he threateneth to the breakers of his law, as dearth, war, dissension, uproars, insurrections, pestilence, strange diseases, &c. We have a taste of these curses already; God hath bent his bow and let slip some of his arrows, which be his plagues, long sith among us: we may perceive by that which hath chanced what touch he will keep with us hereafter, and what is like to follow. Deut. xxviii.

O eternal God, spare thy servants. Let not the enemies of the truth have such cause to rejoice. Suffer not hogs[1], filthy and covetous men, to root and tread down thy vineyard any longer, but hold up the staff of thine inheritance. Let not the preaching of thy sweet Son increase the damnation of thy people, but do thou draw and turn them, work their amendment, who holdest in thy hands the hearts of rulers and all men. All these enormities be the fruits of evil hearts: make them, O God, clean-hearted, that they may pour forth good fruits by the operation of thy Holy Spirit;

who preserve your grace in good health,
and make your government
prosperous to you,
to this realm,
and to the
church of
God.
So be it.
At London the xxvi. of June.

[1 Gods, 1550; hogs, 1560.]

MASTER DOCTOR BYLL[1].

Images are made to put us in mind
Of that which is dead, or far absent;
But God is neither, as we do find,
But aye living, and each where present.

Images are cursed, graven by man's wit,
In place that are set for any religion;
But an Image made out of holy writ
Is not forbidden, in mine opinion.

An Image is painted here, in this book,
Neither with false colours nor man's inventions;
But out of God's book set out to all folk,
Fruitful and necessary to all true Christians.

Hutchinson shope it for good men to regard;
With thanks his costs, with praise his pains reward.

[1 Dr William Bill, a hearty favourer of the reformation, was successively master of St John's and Trinity Colleges in Cambridge, almoner to queen Elizabeth, provost of Eton, and dean of Westminster. He died July 15, 1561, and was buried in Westminster abbey. Harl. MS. 7028. fo. 139.]

THE

IMAGE OF GOD.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

We must learn what God is, of God's word, and not of man's wisdom.

THE first point and chief profession of a true christian man is, most stedfastly to believe that there be three persons, and one God; as we are taught in baptism, which is commanded to be ministered in the name of the Father, Matt. xxviii. of the Son, and of[2] the Holy Spirit. For in that bath of holy baptism we are regenerate, washed, purified, and made the children of God, by the workmanship of the three persons, which formed also heaven and earth, and all the glorious fairness of them; they brought the children of Israel out of the house of bondage; they preserved them from the tyranny and oppression of the heathen; they gave also unto the heathen prosperity and adversity, peace and war, poverty and riches; they govern the universal church; whose works be unseparable. Wherefore, I think it necessary to declare what God is, and what *a person* signifieth in the Deity; forasmuch as the common sort of people are ignorant of their maker and governor, and the signification of *a person* is applied to diverse things. And because these two points be dark and hidden mysteries, and no less necessary to be known of all men than hard to teach, I will shape my speech after such a perceivable fashion, that I may, by God's help, make *an Image of God* for the capacity of the simple and unlearned. God spake to the Israelites out of the fire in the mount Oreb, and it is written, that they "heard a voice, but they saw Deut. iv. no image," because they should make none after it. For it is a dishonour to God, a derogation and defaming of

[2 And the, 1550; and of the, 1560.]

the divine nature, to make any similitude thereof, either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind. We must hear his voice, we must learn what God is, out of God's book, not of man's wisdom. For, if "all things which be under the sun be too hard for man," as the wise man telleth, how much more be the secrets of God's nature hid from his eyes! of the which Esay writeth, "Truly, Lord, thou art hidden from us;" counting himself one of the ignorant. Simonides, a famous clerk among the heathen, teacheth us how feeble man's wit is in declaring this mystery; who, when he was inquired of king Hiero, what a thing God was, he asked a day respite, and the next day, when he was inquired again, he asked two days more, and when they were expired, he asked more, not ceasing to double his days, until Hiero required of him why he did so? "For because," saith[1] Simonides, "the more I consider it, the darker it is unto me." And no marvel; for as no man knoweth what is in man but the spirit of man, so all men be ignorant what God is, except they be taught of the Spirit of God. For, seeing Paul saith, "The eye hath not seen, nor the ear hath not heard, no yet have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him;" how much more doth he himself surmount our capacities! But it followeth, "God hath opened them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." And this Spirit speaketh and breatheth on us in the scriptures; as it is written, "My words are Spirit and life."

Eccles. i.

Isai. xlv.

Simonides. [Cicero de natura Deorum, Lib. i. c. 22.]

1 Cor. ii.

John vi.

Experience doth teach us, and the Apostle warneth us, how fantastical our heads be in searching God's mysteries. For some imagine God to be a corporal thing, and of man's shape and form, because the scripture doth grant, in diverse places, unto God hands, feet, ears, eyes, mouth and tongue; called commonly Anthropomorphites. Read the tenth book of the Tripartite History, seventh chapter[2], and there you shall find a great contention concerning this matter between the monks of Egypt and Theophilus bishop of Alexandria; albeit the sect of the Epicures[3] held this

Lib. x. Hist. Tripar. c. 7.

[1] Saith, 1550; said, 1560.]

[2] In the *Auctores Eccles. Historiæ*, p. 548. Basil. 1535.]

[3] Epicures, 1550; Epicurus, 1560.]

assertion long before, as it appeareth in the first book of Tully, *De natura Deorum*, where this opinion is eloquently confuted by Cotta, a senator of Rome. [c. 25.]

Other rob God of his glory, and give it unto his creatures, worshipping the sun, the moon, the fire, yea, and mortal men, for the immortal God; and unreasonable beasts, for the author of all reason, wisdom, and understanding. And some dishonour him by honouring of dead saints, and worshipping of bread and wine, without any commandment of the scripture, any example in the old or new testament, any authority of the doctors. I will not stand in rehearsing the sundry fantasies of men as touching God. What is the cause of all these fansies and diversities, but that for which Isaiah controleth us, saying, "The ox knoweth his lord, and the ass his master's stall, but we know not God"? Come, therefore, good christian people, and hearken to the words of the Lord; and I will shew you, in them, the majesty of God himself, his face and countenance, his magnificence and highness, which cannot abide the fellowship of any creatures. Paul unto the Hebrues warneth us, that we "be not carried away with diverse and strange doctrine;" which is as much to say, as if he should command us to fly man's doctrine. For men be the strangers, whose doctrine he biddeth us fly, as Peter witnesseth: "Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, &c." Paul also expoundeth himself, saying, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "confessed themselves to be strangers and pilgrims upon the earth, dwelling in tents." And Christ saith, that his sheep hear not the voice of strangers; that is, the doctrine of men, the which in the eighth of Mark is called "the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod." Wherefore, if we be sheep of his pasture, and people of his hands, let us follow his counsel, (for he is our shepherd, our head, and the truth,) and of his apostles, (for they are his labourers and workmen;) remembering that David saith, "Understanding is good to them that do after it." For he that knoweth his master's will, and will not follow it, he shall be more grievously punished. Christ saith unto a woman of Samaria, at Jacob's well; besides Sichar, that she and her people worshipped they knew not what; for they leaned to custom and fathers, rather

Rom. i.

Isai. i.

Heb. xiii.

Strange doctrine, what it is.

1 Pet. ii.

[Heb. xi.]

John x.

Mark viii.

The leaven of the Pharisees.

Psal. cxi.

Luke xii.

John iv.

Samaritans.

than to the text of God's word, saying, "Our fathers wor-
Jews. shipped in this mountain;" but the Jews, cleaving unto God's word, and worshipping in the temple, knew what they worshipped. The which was written for our instruction, that we should repair unto the scriptures in all doubts and controversies, the which is the only touch-stone to examine and try all doctrine, the forged, pretensed, and
2 Cor. x. false, from the sincere, germane, and true. "The weapons of our war," saith Paul, "are not carnal things, but the power of God to cast down strong holds, to overthrow inventions," that is, to vanquish heresy, to destroy all ill
Scripture is the power of God. Rom. i. doctrine. Verily the gospel is that "power of God," for so Paul termeth it, "unto salvation to all them that believe."
A sword. The gospel is the spiritual sword that shall prevail against Sathan, much more against heretics, and his
Ephes. i. 2 Thess. ii. Matt. iv. Matt. xii. [3—5.] members: this sword shall overcome antichrist, whom God shall slay with the breath of his mouth; with this sword Christ confounded the devil; maintained his disciples, slandered of the Pharisees as sabbath-breakers; proved
Matt. xxii. the resurrection against the Sadducees; taught a certain young man the way to heaven; contented the Pharisees touching marriage: with this sword the apostles in divers assemblies confuted the Jews after Christ's ascension, as in their Acts is registered.

The papists reply, that the scriptures are not sufficient and able to confound heretics, but their interpretations and glosses upon them; because they be not plain and evident but dark and hard, and may be wrested to many purposes. How did Christ confute the devil? with scripture, or expounding the
Lantern. Psal. cxix. scriptures? Again, God's word is a lantern, a light; it turneth the soul, it giveth wisdom even unto babes, it rejoiceth the
2 Peter i. heart, it lighteneth the eyes, it is a candle shining in a dark
To be studied of all men. place, and therefore not hard nor dark, but easy and plain, and to be studied of all men, high and low, poor and rich,
Job vii. [1.] spiritual and lay. For the holy and patient man Job saith, that the life of man is nothing else than a very warfare upon the earth, full of misery and trouble, set about with a great multitude of mortal enemies, the devil, the world, and the
God's word is a sword. flesh. Wherefore, the sword of God's word is very necessary unto all that be in this warfare. For who goeth to battle without a sword? Doth not he that taketh away

thy sword betray thee unto thine adversaries? Christ saith, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his coat and buy him one;" and the papists seek all means possible to spoil the people of their sword, which is God's word, saying it will make them heretics: for, *Litera occidit, spiritus est qui vivificat*, "The letter killeth, and the spirit quickeneth." Is God's word the letter? Then we must not read it, lest it kill us; lest it make us heretics. But hearken what Master Doctor of all verity saith, *Sermo tuus veritas est*, "Thy word is truth." And Peter calleth the self-same "immortal seed, by which we are born anew, and which lasteth and liveth for ever." Doth immortal seed kill us? Doth truth make us heretics? Christ declareth the operation of this seed, saying, "Now you are clean by my word;" and Paul saith, *Fides ex auditu*, that faith cometh thereof, not heresy. These fruits this seed engendereth, where it is sown, truth, cleanness of life, regeneration, and faith. He that talketh with wise men becometh wiser by their communication; and shall not he that talketh with God, the author of all wisdom, in his scriptures, be edified thereby? Then what is *Litera occidens*, "the murdering letter"? Truly, the law, which causeth anger, by which cometh knowledge of sin, which is a schoolmaster unto Christ. The law first killeth, that Christ may make alive; it condemneth, that Christ may justify; it sheweth sin, he healeth sin. The gospel is a sermon of God's mercy, that he hath blotted out our sins by faith only in Christ's blood; it maketh no heretics; twelve men, by preaching of it, made the unfaithful, and heretics, faithful and true Christians. This candle was not light to be put under a bushel, but to be set in the candlestick, to give light to them that be in God's house. For Christ crieth, "Woe worth them, that take away the key of knowledge, neither entering themselves, ne yet suffering other to enter." The key of knowledge is God's holy testament and word, that which before we called the touchstone to discern good doctrine from evil. When they had taken the touchstone from us, they made us believe that pewter was silver, and they sold us copper for gold, making the scriptures a nose of wax and a tennis-ball, wresting them unto every purpose. Thus we see from whence we must fetch the knowledge of God: verily, out of God's word,

Luke xxii.

2 Cor. iii.

John xvii.

1 Peter i.

Immortal seed.

John xv.

Rom. x.

2 Cor. iii.

The killing letter, what it is.

Rom. iv.

Rom. iii.

Gal. iii.

Matt. v.

Luke xi.

God's word the key, the touchstone.

which is the truth, and not out of the questionists, or school-
Isai. xxxiii. men, or other like. For he saith by his apostle, "I will
1 Cor. i. destroy the wisdom of the wise, and I will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the searcher of this world? Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness?" As God is known only of himself, so we must only learn of him, what he is. As for man, he knoweth no more what God is, than the unreasonable beasts know what man is; yea, and so much less, as there is more difference between God and man, than between man and the beasts.

Wherefore, all leaven, all strange doctrine and man's wisdom, set apart, I will see what the scriptures teach us concerning God: nor I will not disdain to ask, where I shall see cause, nor be ashamed to learn, where I am ignorant: desiring him that readeth this treatise, where the scripture is plain, to believe, for, except we believe, we shall not understand; where it is doubtful, to search with me; where he seeth himself out of the way, to revoke his opinion; where he seeth me in an error, to inform me, and I will be glad to learn; and so we shall follow the rule of charity, searching both after God, [of] whom it is written,
Psal. cv. "Seek the Lord and his strength; seek his face evermore."

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

God only is of himself.

When Moses desired the Lord to shew him his name,
Exod. iii. the Lord said unto him, "I AM THAT I AM." That is to wit, "I am of myself, I am only. Nothing is of itself without creation, without corruption, save only I, which am that I am." Which understanding God himself doth declare, speaking further unto Moses: "This shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, HE THAT IS, did send me unto

you;" for nothing is, save only God, forasmuch as they stand not by their proper strength, but by the power and goodness of him. The heavens, the waters, the earth, the hills would fall, unless he measured the heaven with his span, held the waters in his fist, comprehended the whole earth in three fingers, weighed the mountains and hills in a balance: by which phrases is meant, that he governeth, ordereth, and disposeth them as he listeth. Neither the sun could give light, ne yet the fire heat, all things would decay and perish, unless he did rule them, as the soul doth man's body. Unto whom only that belongeth and appertaineth which the Greeks call ON, the Latinists EST, as witnesseth the apostle: *Non est in illo* EST *et* NON, *sed* EST *in illo est.* Isai. xl. 2 Cor. i. [20.]

Of all other things NON may be said, for once they were not; but not of God, because he was always: he is, and he is to come; all things have their being of him, and he of himself. Except we understand this saying, "HE THAT IS, sent me unto you," after this sort, it maketh no difference between God and his creatures. For albeit they have not their beginning of themselves, but of him, yet it is truly said of them, that they are. Moreover, what could the Israelites have thought Moses to have meant by these words, "HE THAT IS," than a certain man sent him unto them? If they had taken Moses so, they would not have left Egypt and followed him into the wilderness; but they took these words, "HE THAT IS," for God himself, and therefore followed him: the which, throughout the bible, be never spoken of any creature, but only of him that made all creatures. The name of God also declareth this sense to be true, which is IHUH, of four letters in all tongues; in Greek, THEOS; in Latin, DEUS; in English and Dutch, GOD; in the French, DIEU; in Spanish, DIOS; in the Almaines' tongue, GOTT; and therefore called *Tetragrammaton*, and in Latin, *Quadrilitterum*; derived of *Essendo*, or rather that word that signifieth *Esse* in the Hebrew is derived of it. The Jews read for that word ADONAI, not that it cannot be expressed in their tongue, but, for a reverence to God's name, the which, as they thought, was not once to be named.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

God is a spirit, and how the scriptures do grant unto him a head, eyes, hands, feet, and all other parts of man's body. God is a bird, a shooter, a husbandman; Christ is his image, and man also.

We read also in the scriptures, that God is a spirit, and
John iv. no corporal thing: "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth[1]." The Lord
2 Cor. iii. Isai. xl. no doubt is a spirit; but you will say, "If God be a spirit, how is it that the prophet affirmeth him to measure heaven with his span, to hold the waters with his fist, and the earth in three fingers?" David also saith: "The eyes of the Lord
Psal. xxxiv. are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers," and "the hand of the Lord hath driven out
Psal. xliv. the heathen." Hath a spirit fingers, hands, eyes, and ears? Wheresoever scripture doth attribute unto God a head, ears, eyes, eyelids, nose, mouth, lips, tongue, heart, womb, hands right or left, fingers or a finger, an arm, hinder parts, feet, it is not to be understand literally, but a spiritual sense is to be gathered of such words. Because our understandings be weak, and not able to perceive God, if he should use such words as become his majesty, he borroweth common and plain words to declare a difficult matter unto us: and even as mothers, before they can teach their young babes to speak, are fain as it were to lisp, stammer, and stut with them; so God, to teach our capacities, useth these familiar manner of speeches.

What God's head is. When thou readest that God hath a head, thou must understand his divine nature, which was before all things,
His hairs. and unto it all things be obedient. His hairs signify his angels and the whole multitude of the chosen. Dan. vii: "His clothing was as white as snow, the hair of his head like pure wool;" where the head of God is his deity and godhead, his clothing and his hairs be his angels and elect, which be like white snow and pure wool. God is
Eyes. said to have eyes, because he seeth all things, and nothing

[1 And 1550; and truth, 1560.]

is hid from him; "in whose sight," as the apostle telleth, "no creature is invisible, for all things be naked and open unto his eyes." [Heb. iv. 13.] His eyes also sometimes be taken for his favour: "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous." Psal. xxxiv. His eyelids be taken for his secret judgments: "His eyelids behold the children of men." Psal. xi. Eyelids. He is said to have ears, Ears. because he heareth all things: "The ear of the jealous heareth all things, and the noise of the grudgings shall not be hid." Wisdom i. His nose doth signify his inspirations in the hearts of the faithful: "Smoke went out of his nostrils." Nose. 2 Sam. xxii. The face of God is the knowledge of his divine nature, of the which it is written[2], "Shew us the light of thy countenance and we shall be whole;" that is, "grant us to know thee." His face. Psal. lxx. Otherwise God's face signifieth the invisible nature of Christ's divinity[3], as Exodus doth declare: "You shall see my hinder parts, but my face you cannot see;" that is, "thou shalt see Christ's humanity, but his divinity cannot be seen." Exod. xxxiii. God's mouth is taken for the Son of God the Father: "We have provoked his mouth unto wrath;" or his commandment: "The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Mouth. Isai. lviii. God's tongue is the Holy Ghost: "My tongue is the pen of a ready writer." Tongue. Psal. xlv. His arm signifieth Christ, Arm. of whom Jeremy writeth: "Thou hast brought thy people of Israel out of the land of Egypt with an almighty hand, with a stretched out arm." Jer. xxxii. Where also Christ is called the hand of God; for he is both his arm and his hand. Hand. Christ. Moreover, God's hand is taken sometime for his power: Power. "Behold, ye house of Israel, ye are in my hand, even as the clay in the potter's hand;" Jer. xviii. some time for his scourge[4]: Scourge. "I will stretch forth my hand over Juda and Hierusalem, and I will root out the remnant of Baal." Zeph. i. Of the which scourge Job saith: "The hand of the Lord hath touched me." Job xix. Furthermore, Christ is called God's right hand: "The right hand of the Lord hath done marvels, the right hand of the Lord hath gotten the victory." Right hand. It is used also for the glory of the Father, concerning which he saith to his Son: "Sit on my right hand." Christ's glory. And in some places, for everlasting joy and life: "And he shall Psal. cxviii. Matt. xx.

[2 It is, 1550; is, 1560.]
[3 Exodus xxxiii. 1550; as Exo. doth declare, 1560.]
[4 Scourge, I, 1550; scourge, saith he, I, 1560.]

set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on the left hand;" where, as his right hand is taken for everlasting joy, so his left hand signifieth the torments of the wicked.

Left hand.

Luke xi. God's finger is the Holy Ghost: "If I cast out devils in the finger of God, &c." For where Luke saith, "In the finger of God," it is in Matthew, "If I cast out devils in the Spirit of God." God's finger therefore is his Holy Comforter. For as the hand, finger, and arm, are three, and yet but one body; so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three persons, and one substance, one God.

Matt. xii.

His finger.

The heart of God. The heart of God the Father signifieth the secret of his wisdom, of which he begat his Word, that is, his Son, without beginning, without any passion: "My heart is inditing a good matter." His womb is used in the same signification: "Of my womb, before the morning star, I begat thee." God is said also to have shoulders, because he beareth up all things as it were upon his shoulders; for all things stand by him. The hinder parts of God is Christ's humanity, the which he took upon him in the end of the world, that we might live without end; which is called also God's feet. For as his head signifieth his divinity, so his feet signify Christ's humanity, the which is subject unto God's deity, as our feet are unto our heads: "Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet." In some places preachers of God's word be meant by his feet[1]: "They that draw nigh his feet shall taste of his doctrine."

Psal. xlv.

Womb.

Psal. cx. [3.]

Shoulders. Psal. xci.

Hinder parts.

Feet.

Psal. viii.

Deut. xxxiii.

An exhortation to swearers[2].

You swearers and blasphemers, which use to swear by God's heart, arms, nails, bowels[3], legs, and hands, learn what these things signify, and leave your abominable oaths. For when thou swearest by God's heart, thou swearest by God's wisdom; when thou swearest by God's arms, thou swearest by Christ; when thou swearest [by his] hands or[4] legs, thou swearest by his humanity; when thou swearest by his tongue and finger, thou swearest by the Holy Ghost; and swearing by his head, thou swearest by his divine and blessed nature; and swearing by his hairs, thou abusest his creatures, by which thou art forbidden to swear. When an oath is

[1] Fete, as in Deute. xxxiii, 1550; fete. In, 1560.]
[2] 'An exhortation to swearers' does not occur in the edition of 1550.]
[3] This word is substituted for one of a very repulsive character.]
[4] Hands or legs, 1550; hands, legs, 1560.]

necessary, we are bound to swear by God only, unto whom all honour is due; for we honour that thing whereby we swear. It is naught to swear by the mass, a profanation of Christ's supper, and a patched creature of the bishop of Rome, which was longer in patching then Salomon's great temple in building. Neither is it lawful to swear by any saints, as judges and stewards make the simple people do at sessions and courts; for if they be to be sworn by, they are to be prayed unto, and to be honoured. David saith: "All they that swear by him shall be commended." And Paul unto the Hebrews speaketh thus, that God, "because he had no greater thing to swear by, swore by himself;" whereby we must gather, that we must swear by God only. They that swear by his creatures, or by the mass, be idolaters. But some will say, if we honour that thing whereby we swear, let us swear by God, that we may honour him. Brother, be not deceived: God is honoured by swearing, but how? Truly, when thou swearest by him in a weighty matter of life and death, before an officer, or in any other matters of importance, thou dost him honour and homage: but if in every trifle thou call him to witness, thou dishonourest him, and breakest his commandment, which saith: *Non assumes nomen Domini*, &c. "Thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vain." Swear therefore by God, as God hath commaded thee, and thou honourest him. I trust now it is evident, that God, notwithstanding all these foresaid parts and members, is a spirit, and no bodily, no corporal, no sensible thing. If there be any that think otherwise, I would fain learn how they set the scriptures together, which cannot be contrary one to another; for scripture is truth, and truth can by no means be contrary to truth[5].

God is honoured by swearing.

God only is to be sworn by.

Psal. lxiii.

Heb. vi.

John xvii.

If they will prove of the places before that God is like man, I will prove also, because the scripture saith, "Who is this that cometh from Edom with stained red clothes of Bosra, which is so costly," that God goeth in a red coat; which if it be true, he must needs have a tailor, or else make it himself, for those words are spoken of God, as the place sheweth. But if we weigh the place diligently, we shall find, that Edom is the earth, and the stained red clothes are Christ's blood, which he did

Isai. lxiii.

What stained red clothes be. Edom.

[5 To truth, 1550; to the truth, 1560.]

shed upon earth for our sins. And they which demand who he is, be his creatures, which shall marvel at the wisdom of God in delivering mankind from the bondage of the spiritual Pharao by blood, by death, by the cross. I will prove also that he hath shoes; for he saith by David: "Over Edom will I stretch out my shoe." And then he must needs have a shoemaker, or else make shoes himself. But Edom is the earth, the apostles' feet be his shoes; for it is written: "How beautiful are the feet of them which bring glad tidings of peace." He stretched his shoe over the earth, when he sent them to preach to all creatures: for "their sound went into all lands, their words to the ends of the world." I may prove also, with like arguments unto these, because God's word doth attribute wings unto God, that he is a bird; and so, if he be like a man and a bird both, he is a monster: and because it doth attribute unto him bow, shafts, and quiver, that he useth shooting; because it granteth to him a fan, a floor, wheat and chaff, that he occupieth husbandry. David saith, "Defend me under the shadow of thy wings," likening God to a bird, forasmuch as he is no less careful for his chosen than the hen is for her chickens, as Christ declareth very well, crying: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth[2] her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." And it granteth God bow and shafts and a quiver, to signify him to be a punisher of the ungodly, and a rewarder of the godly; forasmuch as men minister help or vengeance one to another oftentimes through bows and shafts, and one prince aideth another with archers. "He hath bent his bow," saith David, "and made it ready, he hath prepared weapons of death, and ordained arrows to destroy;" that is, he will avenge evil men, he will reward them for their oppression, he will punish them for their ungracious devices, except they amend; he hath "whet his sword." And well may God be compared to a shooter. For as the shooter, the less or more he draweth his shaft, his stroke is thereafter, and if he draw it far and up to the iron, then it payeth home, as they say, then it giveth a mighty stroke; so God sometime

Psal. lx. What God's shoe is. John x[1]. Psal. xix. Psal. xvii. Psal. vii. Matt. iii. Matt. xxiii. How God is said to be a shooter. Psal. vii.

[1] This should probably be Rom. x. 15.]
[2] Gathereth, 1550; gathered, 1560.]

differreth to punish men for their sins, and therefore, except they amend when he punisheth, he will draw his shaft to the head, and strike most grievously. Remember, man, that God is a shooter; heap not his wrath against thee; prolong not the time; despise not "the riches of his goodness, which leadeth thee to repentance." Likewise the scripture calleth him a husbandman, for many causes. *Pater meus agricola est*, "My father is a husbandman," saith Christ. The husbandman dungeth his land, tilleth and dresseth it, that it may bring forth good corn: so Almighty God tilleth and cleanseth the hearts of his people, the which be prone unto evil, that they may bring forth good works, not tares. For we are his husbandry, as Paul witnesseth, speaking of the congregation: "We are God's labourers, ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building." The husbandman diggeth up all unfruitful trees, pareth off all rotten boughs, weedeth out cockle and tares, and casteth them into the fire: so God will serve them that he shall find empty of good works, and without oil in their lamps. The husbandman appointeth his servants to purge his floor, and with the fan he separeth the good seed from the chaff: even so God shall send his angels to his floor, that is, into this world, and they shall carry the good seed into everlasting barns, but the chaff and dross shall be thrown into a furnace of fire, where is wailing and gnashing of teeth: for they are God's reapers, and the end of the world is a harvest, as one of the reapers telleth us, saying, "Thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the time is come to reap, and the corn of the earth is ripe." Who doth not see that these things are to be taken figurally in God? If the parts of man be verily in God, he hath a marvellous fist that holdeth all the waters; his little finger is bigger than St Christopher's great[3] toe[4], for he comprehendeth the whole

Rom. ii.

How God is said to be a husbandman.

John xv.

1 Cor. iii.

Matt. xxv.

Matt. xv.

Rev. xiv.

[3 Greater, 1550; great, 1560.]

[4 The huge bulk of Saint Christopher is commemorated by the writers of the legendary lives of saints current during the middle ages. In his life, in the collection of lives of saints in the celebrated Vernon MS. in the Bodleian Library, he is thus described: I modernise the orthography and quote from Warton's History of English Poetry, Vol. I. p. 19. Edit. 1824:

"Four and twenty feet he was long, and thick and broad enow;
"Such a man, but he were strong, methinketh it were woe!"]

world in three fingers; he hath a wonderful hand which carrieth so many people out of Egypt; to be short, all his parts be high, large, and big, for he filleth heaven and earth, and he must have also the use of the same members; which is filthy to imagine in God.

"But was not man made after the similitude and likeness of God?" Yea, truly, but in soul, in mind, in the inward man, not touching his body. Wherefore Augustine, a man most expert in God's word, crieth out against the image of the Trinity, calling it *Sacrilegium*, a staining of God's honour, and an idol, because the glory of the immortal God is changed into the similitude and image of mortal man; forbidding such an image, not only in the church, but also in thought and mind[1]. I suppose that the Anthropomorphites erected this image. When Philip desired Christ to shew him the Father, he rebuked him, and answered: "He that seeth me, seeth the Father;" for he is the only image of the Father, as Paul writeth; not a dumb image, for he is his Word; not a dead image, for he is life and resurrection; nor[2] counterfeit, for he is truth. God is a spirit, not flesh; a soul, not a body. The soul of man is said to be made *ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei*, "after the image of God," because it is a spiritual creature, invisible, incorruptible; not of the substance of God, as the Manichees and the Priscillianists do falsely defend, but made of nothing. For then it should know all things, as God knoweth, and be ignorant of nothing: it should be void of all affections, mutability, and inconstancy. There is in man's soul reason, discerning good from evil, truth from falsehood; there is memory, by the which he remembereth things past; there is will, by the which he

The image of the Father is an idol.

John xiv.

Heb. i.

How man was made after the image of God.

Gen. i.

Priscillianists.

[1 Nec ideo tamen quasi humana forma circumscriptum esse Deum patrem arbitrandum est, ut de illo cogitantibus, dextrum aut sinistrum latus animo occurrat: aut idipsum, quod sedere Pater dicitur, flexis poplitibus fieri putandum est; ne in illud incidamus sacrilegium, in quo exsecratur apostolus eos qui commutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem corruptibilis hominis. Tale enim simulacrum Deo nefas est christiano in templo collocare; multo magis in corde nefarium est, ubi vere est templum Dei, si a terrena cupiditate atque errore mundetur." August. De Fide et Symbolo, Opera, VI. 157. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[2 Nor, 1550; not, 1560.]

chooseth what him liketh. Besides this, our first parents were made without spot, void of sin, clean, righteous, holy, replenished with all flowers of virtues and knowledge. In these things man was formed after the likeness of God: in these we be like the angels: our body[3] we have common with the brute beasts; it was made of the mould of the earth, as Moses telleth, before there was any similitude, likeness, or image of God in man. St Paul also declareth this to be true, saying: "Be ye renewed in the spirit of your minds, and put on that new man, which after the image of God is shapen in righteousness and true holiness;" and in another place: "Lie not one to another, after that ye have put off the old man with his works, and put on the new, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that made him."

Gen. i.

Eph. iv.

Col. iii.

These testimonies teach, that we lost the image of God by the fall of Adam, whereby our reason was blinded, our will wounded; and that we recover it again by Christ, who in this life amendeth reason by faith, and free will by charity, and in the life to come, with perfect vision of his glory. Hitherto it appeareth that God is a spiritual substance or nature, not of corporal shape ne form, as the Humaniformians would make us believe.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

God is a pure nature and immutable, and how he is otherwhiles angry, otherwhiles pleased, sometime asleep, sometime awake, sometime forgetful, standing, sitting, walking, &c.

God is also a pure nature, forsomuch as he is not mixt nor compound. For, when no composition can be without change, James affirmeth of God: "With whom there is no variableness, neither is he changed, &c." He

James i.

[3 Bodies, 1550 and 1560.]

Psal. cii. changeth all things as a vesture, but he himself is immutable, unchangeable.

How anger is in God. But some will say, "We read him oftentimes changed in his word. He is sometime angry, otherwhiles pleased, sometime awake, sometime asleep; sometime he forgetteth, sometime he remembereth; otherwhiles he sitteth, goeth, Psal. ii. he walketh, he standeth." God is said to be angry, ("kiss the Son lest the Lord be angry,") when we break his commandments, despise his threatenings, set light by his promises, and follow our own corrupt appetites; and so we are changed, not he; we be mutable, he is immutable: as the clear sun to sore eyes is painful, to good and whole pleasant and comfortable, and yet the diversity is in the eyes, not in the light. He is said to be pacified, when we forsake our naughty living, returning unto Jonah[1] iii. him, as did the good Ninivites. "Who can tell," saith Joel ii. the king of the Ninivites, "whether God will turn, and Jer. xviii. repent, and pacify his wrath, and preserve us?"—where his repentance, pacifying, and turning, is all one thing. And How God doth laugh. he is said to laugh and scorn, as in the second Psalm: *Qui habitat in cœlis irridebit eos, et Dominus subsannabit eos*, "He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn, the Lord shall have them in derision." And in another Prov. iii. place: "As for the scornful, he shall laugh them to scorn." God is not of such affection as man[2] is, to be moved with mockage and laughter; for he rejoiceth not in the hurt of man, but at his amendment: and it is written, *Abominatio Domini omnis illusor*, "God abhorreth scornful persons:" but as that man which laugheth at other men is farthest from a mind to help them, and to remedy their griefs, so is God to such as despise his commandments, set light by his threatenings, and are not moved with his How he is said to sleep. promises: this is God's laughter and scorning. He is said to sleep, when Christ lay dead in his grave, whose death is [Jer. xxxi. 26.] called a sweet sleep of Hieremy; or else when he is slow to help his elect out of trouble, as in the psalm xliii.: "Arise, Psal. xliv. wherefore dost thou sleep, O Lord?" And contrariwise, To awake. he is said to awake when he doth straightway, without any tarrying, succour them, help them, and deliver them. He

[1] Jhon, 1550; Jonas, 1560.]
[2] Man, 1550; a man, 1560.]

is said to forget us, when he taketh his mercy from us, forgetting[3] his statutes, ordinances, and commandments; and to remember us, when we change, not he. Jesus Christ, that is God yesterday and to-day, continueth the same for ever. He sitteth not after human manner, but after another sort. To reign and to sit be one thing in God, and of one signification and meaning. "God reigneth over the heathen, God sitteth in his holy seat." He sitteth over cherubim, which is, by interpretation, fulness of knowledge, by which word "angels" be meant, and "the minds of good men," for in them God sitteth and reigneth, as Salomon testifieth: "The soul of the righteous is the seat of wisdom." And scripture also attributeth standing unto God for long-sufferance, wherewith he calleth us to repentance; who is said also to go, and to walk, not by changing of place, for he filleth all places, but by occupying the minds of the faithful, as in the prophet: "I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and be their God," where dwelling, walking, and to be their God, mean one.

Forget. Remember. Sit. Psal. xlvii. Wisd. vii. To stand. Go. Walk. Isai. lv. 2 Cor. vi.

When these things be spoken of God, the change is to be understanded in us, and not in him; as if you and I should drink both of one drink, and I should like it, and you mislike it, the diversity is not in the drink, but in us: even so God, after the[4] divers conditions of men, is said to be pleased with one and discontented with another, to remember some and forget other: not that the very passions of anger, of mercy, of remembrance, of forgetfulness, take place in him, in whom is no affection, no passion; but the scripture useth these speeches for our weak understandings, feeding us with milk, because we are not able to digest stronger meat. As long as we be in this life, we must learn God[5] of such terms; for our life is a shadow, our knowledge is imperfect, we see in a glass, in a dark speaking, with a corrupt eye. Nothing can be properly spoken of God; for then he should not be unspeakable. Who cannot see better in the clear light than in a shadow? without a glass than in it? We see in this life, as it were with a pair of spectacles; but when the spec-

1 Cor. iii.

[3] Forgetting, 1550; for forgetting, 1560.]
[4] The divers, 1550; divers, 1560.]
[5] God of, 1550; of God, 1560.]

tacles shall be taken away, we shall see clearly God face to face; who was never seen yet with bodily eyes. Then shadows, glasses, dark speeches, spectacles, milk, and the corrupt eye, shall be taken away, according to the voice of the trumpeter, "When that which is perfect cometh, that which is imperfect shall be done away."

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

God is unsearchable.

THE scriptures teach him also to be ineffable in all tongues, unsearchable in thought, nothing can attain unto
Rom. xi. him; insomuch that Paul crieth out, "O the deepness of the righteousness, and wisdom, and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways untraceable!" If his judgments surmount our capacities, much more he
Logic. himself; and if Paul's, much more ours. Logic, the science of reason, discussing all doubts and controversies, confuting all men's wisdom, beholding the beams and brightness of God's glorious visage, faileth in searching what he is, and becometh foolishness. I speak not this, judging logic to be unprofitable to the reader of God's word; no, I think rather such as jangle against it to be void of all reason, forasmuch as they speak against the art of reason. Logic is an excellent gift of God, not to be despised, or discommended, lest we be unthankful unto God, but to be diligently learned and commended. Many clatter and prate that Peter and Paul never learnt logic, philosophy, and such dregs, which I deny: for Christ said, he would send them the Comforter, who should "teach them all things." If the Holy Ghost taught them "all things," he taught them also logic. There you have that the apostles learned logic. But you will reply, that the Holy Ghost taught them all things necessary for a preacher. Paul also de-

clareth that logic is necessary for a preacher, when he saith, that a bishop must be διδακτικός, that is, apt to teach. 1 Tim. iii. Christ and his apostles, in their sermons, disputations, and letters, use all forms of arguments, all sorts of reasonings, all ways and means of invention[1], as I would prove if I thought it needful to stand in this matter. That which Paul writeth to the Colossians, *Videte ne quis, &c.* "Beware lest any man come and spoil you through philosophy and deceitful vanity," maketh for philosophy, not against it. For Paul there biddeth them take heed of such men that with their philosophy went about to hinder the gospel, to stop the prosperous success of God's word, abusing God's gift to the destruction of themself and other; rebuking the ill conditions of men, and not dispraising the art; for he himself was a great philosopher. Now, if philosophy did set forth a false and untrue matter, that it confounded the faith of many, how much more is it able to set forth the truth? Col. ii.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

God is invisible, and how nothwithstanding the faithful of the old testament saw him divers times.

But to return unto our matter: as he is unsearchable, so he is invisible, as Paul recordeth unto Timothy: "To the invisible God, and wise only, be honour and praise for ever and ever." There be some things invisible, which notwithstanding be subject to mutability, as man's thought, memory, will, and all spiritual creatures: and whatsoever also is visible, is also mutable. God is said only to be invisible, because he is void of all mutability. He saith unto Moses: "No man shall see me and live:" by John Baptist, "No man hath seen God at any time." If no man hath seen God, how did the faithful of the old testament see him? The scripture saith, that the Lord spake unto 1 Tim. i. Exod. xxxiii. John i.

[1] Invention, 1550; inventions, 1560.]

Exod.xxxiii. Moses "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend:"
1 Kings[1] xxii. and Micheas affirmeth unto king Achab the wicked, "I saw the Lord sit on his seat, and all the company of heaven standing about him." Stephen also, the first martyr that
Acts vii. we read of in the new testament, "looking up steadfastly with his eyes unto heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus
How Moses, Micaiah, and Stephen saw God who is invisible. standing on his right hand." To these I answer, Moses saw not God with his bodily eyes, who is a spirit, nor thou cannot gather any such thing of the text which saith that "God spake unto him face to face, as a man unto his friend," that is, "God talked familiarly with him;" not that he saw him in that place, albeit we read oftentimes that God appeared unto him and to all the Israelites, but not in his own nature and substance, but in his creatures',
Exod.xxxiii. and visible forms: for Moses desireth God afterward, "If I have found favour in thy sight, shew me thyself manifestly;" wherefore he did not see him manifestly before, but only talked with him. And as for Micheas and Stephen,
2 Cor. xii. they saw God as Paul did, when he was carried up into the third heaven, with the eyes of their belief[2], of their mind, not of their body. As long as we continue in this life, we shall never see the divine and blessed nature, be-
Matt. v. cause our hearts be unclean: "Blessed be the pure in heart," saith Christ, "for they shall see God." This life is a warfare, and a purifying of our hearts by faith from sin. As long as the warfare endureth, there is no perfect victory of sin, for victory maketh an end of war: the victory of sin is the perfect vision of God's glory, which is gotten by faith, as John the beloved disciple testifieth[3]:
1 John v. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" Of these it appeareth, that God is a pure nature, unchangeable, unsearchable, invisible.

[1 The reference in both editions is 3 Reg. xxxiii.]
[2 Beleue, 1550; belefe, 1560.]
[3 Testifieth, 1550; testified, 1560.]

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

God is every where, and how Christ is in the sacrament.

He is also every where by nature, not by grace, according to which he saith by Jeremy: "Heaven and earth do I fill." For the heavens be his seat, and the earth is his footstool. This thing belongeth only unto God, and to no creature, neither spiritual nor corporal. A certain christian man, being demanded of a philosopher where God was, inquired of him, where he was not. Wherefore the Son and the Holy Ghost be no creatures; for of the Son it [is] said, "Wisdom reacheth from one end unto another mightily, and ordereth all things lovingly;" and of the Holy Comforter likewise, "The Spirit of the Lord filleth the round compass of the world, and upholdeth all things." There is a great difference between man's soul and his body, but exceeding more difference between God and his creatures, who made both the soul and the body. He is not said to fulfil the world as the water, the air, the sun-light, which by division be in many places: he is in all places[4], without division, wholly, and contained in no place. But as a sound or noise is heard more of some and less of other some, being of equal distance from it, as they be of quick or dull hearing; so, albeit God be present with all things, yet he is in some more plentifully, in some less, not with partiality, but according to the diversity[5] of their capacities. If God be in all places, how is it true that wisdom doth not enter into a froward soul ne dwell in a body subdued unto sin? Surely sin doth separate us from God; for what company hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial? What fellowship hath truth with falsehood? I answer, God is said to dwell, to enter, where he favoureth, where he loveth; after which sort he is not in the wicked, but after another

Jer. xxiii.

Wisd. viii.

Wisd. i.

Wisd. i.

2 Cor. vi.

[4 Place, 1550; places, 1560.]
[5 Diversity, 1550; diversities, 1560.]

sort he is in them: for where he is not by his favour and grace, he is by his righteousness; where he is not a benefactor, he is a punisher; where he is not a dweller, he is an avenger. But Christ saith, if a man love him, that his Father and he will come to him: if they will come to him, they were not with him before, and so God is not in all places. This text sheweth how all such things are to be understanded in God. The words expound one another, which be these? "If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father also will love him, and we will come unto him, and dwell with him." Where the coming of God the Father, and dwelling, is the same that goeth immediately before, "my Father also will love him." These words be a good commentary to the other words before: we will come to him, we will dwell with him. Whereof it is manifest that all such phrases, dark speeches, and riddles, make nothing against the presence of God in all places, but rather fortify and establish it: we can go no whither from his Spirit, we can fly no where from his face: if we climb up unto heaven, he is there: if we go down unto hell, he is also there.

John xiv.

Psal. cxxxix.

We must not imagine him to be contained in place, and yet he is all thing in all. He is to all men as he findeth them: he is good in them that he findeth good, and ill to them that be ill: he is a helper in them that be good, and a punisher in them that be evil. If thou lookest for any succour, help, or aid, at God's hand, forsake that is evil, and follow that is good. When thou stealest, or goest about advoutry [adultery], thou tarriest for the dark, thou lovest the night, because thy works be of darkness, lest thou shouldst be seen and shamed, lest thou shouldst be taken and hanged. Thou goest unto the king's highway, and takest a standing; thou goest to thy neighbour's house, and robbest him; thou ridest up to London to sue thy neighbour, to rob him of his right: call to remembrance that God is with thee everywhere: he is with thee going, he is with thee by the way, he is with thee when thou art doing thy devilish purpose: he standeth by and looketh on, writing thy fact as it were in a pair of tables, and at the last day he will make it known unto all men to thy utter confusion, shame, and condemnation.

Wickedness coveteth the dark.

God seeth the wicked everywhere.

If thou be afraid of men that destroy the body, fear him that hath power to throw both thy body and soul headlong into hell, into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Thou mayest escape the punishment of man, but thou canst not escape God's hand, who punisheth more grievously than man. Whither wilt thou fly from God? Surely thou canst not fly from him, but by flying unto him: thou canst not escape his wrath, which is his righteousness, but by appealing unto his mercy. David compareth[1] God to a man that draweth a bow: the farther he draweth his shaft, which is his punishment, the greater is the stroke thereof.

Fear God above all.

We cannot escape God's hand.

There is a great altercation now-a-days, whether God be in the sacrament or not: he must needs be there, for he is in all places. But whether is he there by his divinity, or humanity? Christ warneth us, that in the latter age there shall arise many false prophets, and *Pseudo-christi*, that is, false anointed, (which be the bishop of Rome's greased butchers and sacrificers,) which shall say, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ. These Pseudo-christs be not they of whom they speak afterward in the same chapters, "Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ," but another sort; for these shall not challenge this to themselves, but direct men[2] to other: and of these false anointed, that shall point us to other, he saith, *Nolite credere*, "Believe them not:" and therefore I dare not say that he is there after his humanity, lest I be a false prophet; for this is spoken of his humanity, not of his divinity. Touching his divinity, I say unto you, good people, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for it is here, there, in the town, in the city, in the chapel, in the church, and wilderness, and every where, as I have declared. The papists say, that this place maketh not against the presence of Christ's body upon earth, but against false prophets, which should preach in the last age false doctrine. True it is, Christ speaketh here against such: but what false doctrine shall they teach? Shall there come two at one time, in one age, of which false prophets shall say, "he is Christ," and another shall say, "no, this is Christ," pointing to some other? There were

Against the corporal presence.

Christ is not in the sacrament touching his humanity.

Mark xiii.

Matt. xxiv.

An objection.

The answer.

[1] Compareth, 1550; compared, 1560.]
[2] Men, 1550; man, 1560.]

never yet two in one age, which both were said to be Christs of any false prophets, nor the scriptures do not mention or register any such thing to come; for the verity saith, that many such shall come. Now, we never read that many have reported and said, "here is Christ, and there," unless we take it to be spoken of the papists, which shew Christ unto us in many places at once, in every chapel, and on every altar. Many shall say of themselves that they are Christ; but these be other doctors. Compare their words together, and thou shalt find that I say true. The one text doth not expound the other, but they be two diverse prophecies of two diverse things. This false doctrine, then, is nothing else but to teach Christ's body after his ascension to be upon the earth, visibly or invisibly.

Pighius's interpretation.

Pighius, who calleth God's word "a nose of wax[1]," wresteth this text to another purpose, taking Christ here for his church. "Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ," saith Pighius, "that is, heretics shall say, here is the church, and there is the church[2]." O wise exposition! shall heretics say that Christ is here and there, touching his members and church? No, verily, this is no heresy: for Christ's church is in many places, in deserts and other. If Christ

Mark xiii.

Matt. xxiv.

[1 Sed quoniam nullus scripturæ locus ita planus est aut apertus, qui ab hæreticorum, scripturas adulterantium, torquentium, et ad suum sensum depravantium, vi et injuria se prorsus vindicet. Sunt enim illæ (ut non minus vere, quam festive dixit quidam) velut nasus cereus, qui se horsum, illorsum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingique facile permittit: et tanquam plumbea quædam Lesbiæ ædificationis regula, quam non sit difficile accommodare ad quidvis volueris. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. III. cap. 3. fol. 80. Edit. 1538.]

[2 Si quis dixerit tibi, Ecce hic est Christus, ecce illic, ecce apud nos est vera ecclesia Christi, vera proinde salus, quæ expectatur a Christo, nostræ sententiæ, nostræ fidei et doctrinæ consortibus; nolite, inquit, credere, nolite seduci, nolite exire ab illo corpore. Illius enim solius corporis caput, vita, et salus Christus est. Ego, inquit, vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem sæculi. Itaque ab illo corpore quisquis te seducere conatur in desertum Judaismum, in angulos domorum et penetralia, hoc est, in novas et singulares aliquas opiniones, a communi sensu illius corporis extraneas, et pugnantes cum doctrina catholicæ ecclesiæ, agnosce, juxta salvatoris nostri doctrinam, pseudoprophetam ex operibus suis; agnosce lupum obtectum vellcribus ovium, et cave credas, cave execs. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. I. cap. 5. fol. 16 b. Edit. 1538.]

must be taken for his church in this text, then we are compelled also to understand the church by him in the text which immediately followeth, where he saith, "Believe them not; Christ," that is, the church, "shall come as lightning:" we must take Christ for the same throughout the chapter. Read diligently; examine the circumstance which is chiefly to be regarded in the exposition of doubtful places; open the scripture with the key, not with the pick-lock; that is, expound it by itself, not by private interpretation; and thou shalt find that Christ there is taken for Christ, not for the church, as Pighius would strain the place, making of the scriptures "a nose of wax." The key. The pick-lock.

You will ask me then, whether we receive Christ's body? Yea, truly, from heaven, from the right hand of the Father; not out of the bread, nor in the bread. For, unless we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, we shall not dwell in him; we shall not arise at the last day; we shall not have eternal life. Christ's humanity is the mean whereby we must obtain all things; the way by which we must climb up to heaven; the ladder that Jacob saw, going unto Mesopotamia, reaching up to heaven, with angels ascending and descending upon it. Christ teacheth this; using not only his word and commandment in raising the dead, as God, but also his flesh as a help and mean to the same. In raising the daughter of one of the chief of the synagogue, he took her by the hand and raised her. When he cured one full of the leprosy, he stretched out his hand and touched him. When he entered into the city of Naim, meeting a dead man carried out, the only son of a widow, having compassion on her, he touched the bier, and raised him from dead. There be infinite places of scripture which teach us, that Christ's flesh giveth life, delivereth from death, expelleth vice; but this is notable, forasmuch as this widow signifieth the church, and her dead son representeth mankind, dead through the sin of Adam. Christ is a vine, and we are the branches, as he witnesseth himself: *Ego sum vitis vera, &c.* "I am the true vine, and my Father is a husbandman," *et vos estis palmites.* The branches cannot live, unless they take nourishment of the substance of the vine and his[3] juice: even so the soul of We receive Christ's body from heaven. Matt. ix. Matt. viii. Luke vii. John xv.

[3] His, 1550; of his, 1560.]

a christian man must needs be fed with the sweet flesh and comfortable blood of Jesus Christ. If we be branches, we be nourished of the vine. I would learn whether he be the vine after his humanity, or by his divinity. He is not the vine touching his divine nature; for the vine is not equal with the husbandman, but at his commandment. Christ, touching his divinity, is the husbandman, and equal with his Father. Mark, he is the vine therefore concerning that nature in which he is inferior to his Father, which is, his humanity. If then Christ be the vine, not by his divinity but by his humanity, and we the branches; then we must be refreshed of the vine, that is, of his humanity.

Christ is the vine touching his flesh.

This metaphor hath been abused to many evil purposes, as to prove Christ not to be God, because he is the vine: it hath been racked also to prove that these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body," is a like phrase, a like speech, as when Christ saith, *Ego sum vitis*, "I am the vine." They be no like phrases, but far different and diverse: for the vine is no sacrament, neither the door, nor the way, be no sacraments. The bread of [1]which Christ said, "This is my body," is a sacrament, not a bare and naked metaphor; the rock was a sacrament; the brasen serpent was a sacrament; not metaphors only. When Christ said, "This is my body," he ordained a sacrament, that is, he gave the name of the thing to the sign; so that, notwithstanding, the matter, nature, and substance of the sign remaineth: unless this substance remain, the bread is no sacrament. For sacraments, saith St Augustine, are so called of the similitude of those things to which they be sacraments[2]. Take away the matter, the sub-

"I am the vine," and, "this [is] my body," are diverse phrases.

"This is my body" expounded.

Luke xxii. Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

The substance of bread remaineth.

[1 Which, 1550; the which, 1560.]

[2 Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus cum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere,

stance, and nature of bread and wine; and there remaineth no more similitude.

Now all the fathers that were before Gregory do confess, and[3] the scriptures do witness, that there must be three similitudes in this sacrament: a similitude of nourishing, a similitude of unity, and a similitude of conversion. The similitude of nourishing is this, that, as bread and wine do nourish our bodies[4] and comfort our outward man, so the body and blood of Christ be the meat and food of our souls, and do comfort our inward man. And the similitude of unity is this, that, as the loaf of which we eat was made of many corns of wheat, by the liquor of water knoden into dough, and yet is but one loaf, and as the wine was made of the juice of divers grapes, and yet is but one cup of wine; so all they that eat Christ's body, and drink his blood, being many, are made one body and one flesh by the liquor of charity and love; the mystical body of our Saviour Christ, which is his church, not his natural body: for the bread is a sacrament not only of Christ's natural body, but also of the congregation and mystical body: and therefore Paul saith, that, albeit we be[5] many, yet notwithstanding we are *Unus panis, unum corpus*, "one loaf and one body." What a loaf are we? Verily, even *Triticeus panis*, "a wheaten loaf," by the similitude of unity which I have declared. The similitude of conversion is this, that, as the bread and wine is turned into the substance of our bodies, so, by the receiving of Christ's body and blood, we are turned into the nature of them; we are changed and made bones of his bones, and flesh of his[6] flesh. "He that eateth my flesh,"

Three similitudes in the sacrament.

Of nourishing.

Of unity.

1 Cor. x.

Of conversion.

qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus, 'Consepulti,' inquit, 'sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem.' Non ait, sepulturam significavimus: sed prorsus ait, 'Consepulti sumus.' Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei nonnisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Augustini Epist. ad Bonifacium, Opera, ii. 267. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[3] And, 1550; that, 1560.]

[4] Bodies, 1550; body, 1560.]

[5] We, 1550; be, 1560.]

[6] Of flesh, 1550; of his flesh, 1560.]

saith Christ, "and drinketh my blood, he abideth in me, and I in him;" that is to say, we be made one flesh and one blood, and the same nature that my flesh and my blood hath, the same getteth he that eateth me. These similitudes must be in the bread and wine, or else they be no sacraments. Now take away the substance, matter, and nature of them, and what similitude remaineth either of nourishing, or of unity, or of conversion? These similitudes be in the very substance and inward nature of bread and wine, not in the outward shew of accidents, which do neither nourish, neither are they changed, neither have any similitude of any unity.

Here percase, gentle reader, thou wilt demand of me, seeing I teach the substance of bread and wine to remain after the consecration, what I do answer to the doctors and fathers, which oftentimes do say that the nature and substance of bread and wine is altered, is turned into the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, as Cyprian[1], in his treatise which he writeth *De cœna Domini*, "of the Lord's supper," saith, *Panis non effigie sed natura mutatus*, "this bread is changed, not in the outward shew, but in the nature and substance;" and Ignatius saith the same, and Cyril, and Ambrose, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Chrysostom, whose doctrines we do follow, and we do allow and embrace them.

Cyprian de cœna Domini.

Be not deceived, good people; they are nothing against this doctrine, but the pillars and maintainers thereof, if their writings be truly understand: mark their[2] phrases, compare their sayings together one with another; and you shall find, that many do falsely slander them, and that they which boast and prate most of the doctors and old fathers,

How the doctors do say that the substance of bread is changed.

[1 Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro: et sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta devotio, et ad veritatem, cujus corpus et sanguis sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret accessus, usque ad participationem spiritus; non quod usque ad consubstantialitatem Christi, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam ejus, hæc unitas pervenisset. Cypriani Opera, cxi. Ed. Parisiis, 1726. The treatise *De Cœna Domini* was formerly attributed, but erroneously, to Cyprian.]

[2 Ther, 1550; the, 1560.]

understand not the old fathers. So they say, that Eliseus changed and altered the nature of iron, when he made it to swim above the water[3]; so they say, that Elias changed the nature of fire, when through his prayer it fell from heaven and consumed his sacrifice of wood, stones and dust. The nature of fire was changed, (no man can deny it,) at what time God appeared unto Moses out of a bush in a flame; for the bush was not consumed. He commanded the fire not to hurt his faithful servants, Sidrach, Misak, and Abednago, and preserved them harmless from the hot burning oven. There again nature was altered.

2 Kings vi.

1 Kings xviii.

Ambrose de sacramentis.

Exod. iii.

Dan. iii.

Elias and Eliseus did not turn, alter, or change the very substance and inward essence, or matter, either of iron or of the fire, into any other substance, or nature, but the natural property of them; making the iron which is heavy to hove above the waters, and causing the fire which is light to descend downward. Even so the doctors and old fathers, which we allow and follow, say, that the substance of bread and wine is changed, that is, the natural property of them; so that whereas before they were only the meat of the body, now, after the words rehearsed, they are the food of the soul also, for so much as they deliver unto us Christ's sweet flesh and comfortable blood: before it was common bread and wine, now it is holy and sanctified; before it was no sacrament, now it is a sacrament of the blessed body and honourable blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Substances for natural property.

But, for a more manifest proof that the old fathers believed the substance of bread to remain after the consecration, I will allege some of them. Irenæus[4] saith, that

Irenæus.

[3] Ceciderat ferrum securis in aquas, quasi ferrum sua consuetudine demersum est: misit lignum Elisæus, statim ferrum elevatum est, et aquis supernatavit: utique contra consuetudinem ferri; est enim materies gravior, quam aquarum est elementum. Ambrosius de Sacramentis, Opera, ii. 370. Edit. Paris. 1690.]

[4 Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. Irenæus, adversus Hæreses, lib. iv. cap. 34. p. 327. Ed. Oxon. 1702.]

every sacrament is made of two natures, of a heavenly nature, and of a terrenal or earthly nature. Now, take away the substance of bread, and what earthly nature or substance remaineth in this holy sacrament? The papists say, that the earthly nature is Christ's body, which he took of the earth when he was born of the blessed virgin Mary: for she was earth, and all men be earth. To this I answer, that Christ's body is earth in very deed, yet it is not the earthly and terrenal nature of this sacrament, which must have three similitudes, of unity, of nutrition, and of conversion, as is declared before, which similitudes cannot be in Christ's body. Moreover, hear what Origen[1] saith: *Panis sanctificatus vadit in ventrem*, "The sacramental bread entereth into the belly." Wherefore entereth it thither, but to nourish our bodies, to feed them, to be the meat of the flesh? Wherefore the substance thereof is not turned, not changed, not altered, but remaineth and continueth: for accidents do neither feed nor nourish. St Augustine[2] also subscribeth unto them, saying, *Accedat verbum elemento, et fit sacramentum*: he saith not *succedat*, but *accedat*, which is this much to say: "Let the word be added to the element, and then it is made a sacrament." Thus it is evident that the bread and wine,

An objection.

The answer.

Origen.

Augustine.

[1 Πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται· καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν, εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγινομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἴτιον διαβλέψεως, ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. Origen. in Matth. Comment. Opera, iii. 499. Edit. Paris. 1733.]

[2 Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait, 'Propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis,' nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum. Nam et hoc utique dixerat, quando pedes discipulis lavit, 'Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus.' Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo; non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Opera, iii. 703. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

which is the element, remaineth, and is not transubstantiate, both by authentical scriptures, which do allow three similitudes, and also by the consent of all the doctors and elder fathers: for out of doubt Athanasius, Basil, Nazianzen, Jerome, Chrysostom, and other, both Latinists and Greeks, do not disagree with these. Moreover, the rock was a sacrament of Christ's blood, and yet not transubstantiate. They and we drink one spiritual drink, as Paul recordeth. Likewise manna was a sacrament of his body, without any such mutation. You will ask me then, whether our sacraments be better than the sacraments of the old testament? Yea truly, but not of their own nature, but through the grace of God, through the fulness of time, because in this testament the face of Christ is more clearly discovered and known, and not through any transubstantiation. These be the days which the patriarchs and prophets desired to come, the days of salvation, and the acceptable time.

1 Cor. x.

How our sacraments are better than the sacraments of the old testament.

I have opened the true meaning of Christ's words, "This is my body;" and declared the necessity, the use, the fruit, the mary and sweetness of the holy communion, which fruit is incomparable. For if all they which did but touch the hem of Christ's garment, received their perfect health, how much more shall we be made strong and comforted, if we have Christ in us! This holy communion giveth life, destroyeth death, quickeneth our bodies, lighteneth our souls, banisheth sin, and increaseth virtue. For as a little wax poured upon other wax is made all one with it, even so they that receive this sacrament worthily abide in Christ, and Christ in them. A little leaven soureth a whole batch; but the seldom receiving of this sacrament, if (I say) it be received worthily, bringeth remission of sins, purgeth our souls, maketh clean our hearts, amendeth our understandings: but the oftener, the better. All you that approach unto this table, and desire to be branches of the vine, and to be sealed into the fellowship of the congregation, forsake your sinful living, intend to lead a new conversation from the bottom of your hearts, purge out the old leaven, and become new dough, bury all affections and live unto virtue: otherwise ye neither eat Christ's flesh, nor drink his blood. He that eateth Christ's flesh hath eter-

Matt. ix.

Evil men do not receive Christ's body.

John vi.

The first reason.

nal life. "Yea, marry," saith the papists, "if he eat it *digne*, worthily," adding unto the text, or else making it false, "but he may receive it unworthily, as Judas did." Examine this exposition with the touchstone, open the scripture with the key, not with the picklock; and thou shalt find, that Christ's flesh is not received unworthily: in all the scriptures this word *indigne*, "unworthily," is but once read concerning this sacrament; and there, mark, the bread and the wine is said to be received unworthily, not Christ's most comfortable flesh and blood. *Quicunque manducaverit panem hunc, etc.* "He that eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup," saith Paul, "unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ." Lo, he saith, "He that eateth of this bread unworthily, and drinketh of this cup," not of the body and blood of Christ, which always be received unto health.

The second reason.

1 Cor. xi.

Choose now, gentle reader, whether thou wilt believe the papists, which teach that Christ's flesh is received of evil men unworthily, or Paul, which saith, "He that eateth of this bread," that is, not common bread, not daily bread, but sacramental bread, that is meant by the word, "this." If they can shew in any place of scripture, where this word "unworthily" is joined with the body of Christ, as I have shewed where it is coupled with bread, I will be of their opinion. Christ's flesh is meat, according to his own saying, *Caro mea vere est cibus, &c.* "My flesh is very meat and my blood is very drink." Now meat doth hurt, where it findeth a belly corrupt with naughty humours. Even so this spiritual food, if it find a man defiled with sin, increaseth his damnation, bringeth him unto destruction, not of the nature of it, but through the default of him that receiveth it. Yea, if we be defiled with corrupt humours, we be no partakers of these dainties.

The third reason.

John vi.

But peradventure the papists will reply, If it be meat, then is it received both of good and evil men; for neither of both sorts can live without meat. To this I answer, it is the meat of the soul, not of the body; the food of the spirit, not of the flesh; and therefore it is not received of evil persons, because the meat is good, and they be evil. So that this is a strong argument: Christ's flesh and blood is meat; ergo it is not received of evil men.

An objection answered.

Moreover, Christ's flesh and blood is the vine, as I have proved before, and we be the branches. The fourth reason.

Only the branches be fed of the vine: A syllogism.

Evil men be not branches of the vine:

Ergo, evil men be not partakers of the vine, which is Christ's flesh and blood.

Therefore let no Judas, no Simon Magus, no man with a cloked mind, think that he is fed with these dainties. If it were not lawful for the uncircumcised in flesh to eat the figurative paschal lamb, how much more is it unlawful for the uncircumcised and unclean in heart to taste of these dainties! "If he that despised Moses' law was condemned, without any mercy, unto death under two or three witnesses, how more grievously shall he be punished, which treadeth under foot the Son of God, and counteth the blood of the new testament as an unholy thing, wherewith he is sanctified!" Purge out the old leaven, or else thou mayest not, nor thou canst not, eat this sweet bread. Paul testifieth, that many among the Corinthians, for the abusing of this sacrament, were punished with weakness, with sickness, yea, and many stricken with death; the which he wrote for our instruction. Against the coming of our friend we make clean our houses, and look diligently that all things be trim: and are we negligent in purifying of our minds against the coming of the great King, who hath promised to dwell with us after the receiving of this holy meat? I would wish that men would give thanks more customably, immediately after the receiving thereof, unto God, for the redemption of mankind, and for all his benefits, saying[1] the hundredth psalm, "O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands, serve the Lord in gladness, and come before his presence with a song;" and the psalm that beginneth, "O come, let us sing unto the Lord, let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation; let us come before his presence with thanksgiving:" with the hundred and third psalm, "Praise the Lord, O my soul." For who cometh to the table of any man, and departeth without any thanksgiving? It is called also a sacrament of thanksgiving. I would men would as diligently dispose themselves to receive this sacrament, as

Thanks ought to be given for the death of Christ.

Psal. xcv.[2]

[1] Saying, 1550; singing, 1560.]

[2] This reference is not in the margin of the edition of 1550.]

they do eftsoons delight to talk of it: if they would prepare themselves to receive it more oft, the Holy Ghost would instruct them and become their schoolmaster; for wisdom entereth not unto a soul subdued into sin.

The sacramental receiving is necessary.

But I hear some say, I will not come to receive the sacrament, for I can, and do, receive the body and blood of Christ at home, in the field, and in the church, yea, everywhere, without the sacrament, believing upon his passion. Truly, if thou be godly-minded, and do call his death for thee[1] to remembrance, trusting to have pardon of thy sins by the effusion of his blood, thou dost eat his body and drink his blood. But thou art not godly-minded, but carnal, the servant of sin, if thou despise the ordinance of God, and his commandment, who biddeth thee take and eat: and carnal and ungodly men do not receive the body of Christ, but the spiritual and godly.

The absolution of the minister.

Thou mayest say likewise, I will not come at the minister for remission of my sins, and for absolution, for God is not bound to his sacraments, he pardoneth without the ceremony of ministration, as he[2] did the thief, Mary Magdalene, and other. Sure it is, God forgiveth thy sins before thou come to the priest, if thou have earnest repentance and true intent of amendment; for he saith, *In quacumque hora, &c.* "In what hour soever the unrighteous man doth repent, &c." and yet nevertheless he himself commandeth thee to come to them, for he hath given them authority to loose and to bind, and to bless and curse. Now, what their loosing, blessing, and absolution is, shall be declared hereafter, in the seventeenth chapter. So, albeit Christ's body be received in faith without the sacrament, yet thou must come unto the sacrament, because thou art commanded, or else thou art an evil man.

It is not enough to receive it spiritually, we must receive it also sacramentally; yea, he that will not receive it sacramentally, neither doth he, neither can he, receive it in faith spiritually: for I have proved before that evil men do not eat these dainties.

[1] Death for the to, 1550; death to, 1560.]
[2] He as, 1550; as he, 1560.]

THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

God is full of understanding.

God is also full of understanding. If any man lack wisdom, James biddeth him "ask it of God, which giveth to all men indifferently, and casteth no man in the teeth; and it shall be given him, if he ask it without wavering, without mistrust." David, asking with a sure faith, obtained his request; in so much that he had more understanding than all his teachers, and was wiser than the aged; but what followeth? "for because I keep thy commandments." Thou askest not in faith, without keeping of God's commandments. *Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex operibus*, "shew me thy faith," saith James, "of thy works." Keep them, and he will give thee understanding. His testimonies are a lantern, and give light even unto the babes. He gave Salomon an understanding heart to judge his people, and to discern between good and bad; so that there was none like him, neither afore nor after: he gave him also honour and riches, and long life; which be his gifts. He opened the minds of his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures. He took Paul up into the third heaven, and taught him things which cannot be uttered. He filled Besaliel and Ahaliab with the Spirit of God, with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, to find out curious works, to work in gold and silver and brass, to carve in wood, to grave in stone, to make the tabernacle of witness, the ark, the mercy seat, the table, the pure candlesticks, the altar of incense, vestiments to minister in, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest. Wherefore he himself must needs be full of all wisdom and all understanding. But these things, as they were commanded to them of the old law, so we of the new law are not bound to them, because we have no commandment; for, as Paul writeth unto his nation, "we have an altar, whereof they may not eat which serve in the tabernacle." The priesthood of the

James i.
Psal. cxix.
Psal. xcix.
Psal. xix.
1 Kings iii.
Luke xxiv.
2 Cor. xii.
Exod. xxxi.
Heb. xiii.

Levites, their sacrifices, and their laws, be disannulled. Christ's everlasting priesthood hath made an end of all the Levites' priesthood; yea, and of all other priesthood, save only that which belongeth to all christian men. The oblation of his body once for all upon the altar of the cross, which was a slain sacrifice for our sins, abolisheth all other; and the law of his gospel hath blotted out the law of the carnal commandment.

Malachi maketh nothing for the sacrifice of the mass or popish priesthood.

But our Romans allege the prophet Malachy for the defence of the sacrifice of their mass, and for their popish priesthood; by whom God saith: "I have no pleasure in you; and as for an offering, I will not accept it at your hands. For from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, my name is great amongst the gentiles; yea, in every place shall there sacrifice be done, and a clean offering offered up in my name." Albertus Pighius[1], one of the bishop of Rome's chief knights, laboureth to prove that this text is meant of the oblation of the mass; whose reasons be these: first, that it cannot be taken for the oblation of Christ's body on the cross, for God promised

Pighius's argument.

[1 Audis primum denunciari veteris illius, quod secundum ordinem Aaron erat, sacerdotii abolitionem, succedente novo (de quo apostolus) secundum ordinem Melchisedec. Non est, inquit, mihi voluntas perpetua in vobis, vobis, inquam, Aaroniticis sacerdotibus, nec ultra suscipiam munus aut sacrificia de manibus vestris. Quid ita? Quoniam non tantum in uno hoc populo Israël, cui servicbat illud vetus sacerdotium, sed in omnibus gentibus, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, magnum erit nomen meum. Neque ex una hac familia Aaron, sed ex omnibus gentibus novos mihi sacerdotes deligam, novo ordine, abrogato veteri. Nec vetera illa vobis constituta et in uno loco offerenda sacrificia amplius de manu vestra suscipiam: sed in omni orbis loco sacrificabitur, et offeretur nomini meo oblatio munda: propheta enim de futuro, ob certitudinem, ut solent, in præsenti loquitur: non sacrificia multa, sed una et sola munda oblatio. Quid enim, ut Augustini verbis dicam, tam mundum pro mundanis vitiis mortalium, quam sine ulla contagione carnalis concupiscentiæ caro nata in utero et ex utero virginali? Et quid tam gratè offerri et suscipi posset, quam caro sacrificii nostri, corpus effectum sacerdotis nostri? Nullam imaginari est oblationem mundam aliam, quæ per ecclesiam offertur in omni orbis loco, quam in eucharistiæ sacramento caro et sanguis agni immaculati. Nam jejunia, eleemosynæ, orationes, sacrificium cordis contriti, breviter universæ justitiæ nostræ, sunt veluti pannus menstruatæ. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. II. cap. 5. fol. 54. Edit. 1538.]

here such a sacrifice that should be offered in all places, and of the heathen; that was offered in one place, in Jewry only, and of the Jews. Moreover, it cannot be such a sacrifice as David commended; that a troubled spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, is a sacrifice unto God; for the prophet speaketh here of a clean sacrifice unto God: all that we offer unto God, is spotted, unclean and defiled, as the clothes stained with the flowers of a woman. The prophet also speaketh of a new sacrifice, that was not before, but should be used among the heathen, and offered only of the priests; but we have the sacrifice that David praiseth, common with them of the old law, and it is to be offered of all christian men and women: wherefore it must needs be spoken of the mass.

Psal. li.

Isai. lxiv.

This is Pighius's reason, yea, the principal argument of all the papists; unto which, I beseech you hear patiently my answer. I intend to write a commentary to Malachy, but I will take it out of God's word, and I will open scripture with the key. I defend, that Malachy meaneth none other sacrifice, than an oblation of a pure and contrite heart; and I prove it thus: first, Malachy speaketh of such a sacrifice as shall be offered in all places unto God; as, undoubtedly, this hath been, and shall be to the world's end. He speaketh also of a clean sacrifice. Is not the oblation of a contrite heart a clean sacrifice? Yea, truly; or else it were not to be offered up unto God, to whom no unclean thing is to be presented. Paul, speaking of this sacrifice, calleth it a holy and an acceptable sacrifice, saying, "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you make your bodies a quick sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God," &c. He meaneth not, that we should kill our bodies, slay ourselves; but kill all our carnal lusts, unlawful desires, evil affections in the body; which is a sacrifice of a contrite and humble heart. And whereas Pighius affirmeth against this, that our hearts be unclean, I deny it not: but, nevertheless, God accepteth them as clean, and calleth them so in his word, as by David, saying, "Make me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me;" and by Christ, "Blessed be the pure in heart, or clean-hearted, for they shall see God." We read in the Acts, when Peter was a-hungred at Cor-

The answer.

The sacrifice of thanks is offered in all places.

A clean sacrifice.

Rom. xii.

Psal. li.

Matt. v.

Acts xi.

nelius's house, that the heavens opened, and certain vessels came down to him, as it had been a great sheet knit at four corners, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and that he was bidden to arise and kill: but he would not, saying he did never eat no unclean things: but he was answered, and commanded, not to esteem any thing unclean which God hath cleansed. Even so I say unto Pighius, that seeing Paul, David, and Christ, call it a clean sacrifice, and that God hath purified our hearts, it becometh not him to name it otherwise. For a good man, a good tree, out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth out good fruit.

Matt. vii.

A new sacrifice.

But the papists say, that this is no new sacrifice. I affirm that it is; for as much as God saith, "Behold I make all things new." If all things be new, then this is a new sacrifice, albeit we have it common with the fathers of the old testament. The scripture useth to call things new, when they be commanded anew; as Christ, commanding his disciples to love one another, before his passion, saith, "I give you a new commandment that ye love one another;" and John likewise, "Again, a new commandment I write to you." Not that these commandments were not mentioned before; but that they were so necessary, that it pleased God to renew them again. In which signification, the oblation of a contrite heart may also be called a new sacrifice, and that after the phrase of the holy scripture, although Pighius spurn against it; who, not knowing, or not remembering, this acception of newness, doth falsely affirm, that the sacrifice that Malachy entreateth, only appertaineth unto priests. I trust I have sufficiently declared, by the testimonies of God's word, that a contrite heart is that clean and new sacrifice offered in all places, of which Malachy speaketh.

2 Cor. v.

John xiii.

1 John ii.

The first reason.

That the Lord's supper, which men call the mass, is not a sacrifice for sin, St Paul declareth plainly, saying: *Sine sanguinis effusione, &c.* "that without shedding of blood no sacrifice can blot out sin." If Christ be sacrificed or offered in his supper, for the expiation of sin, his precious and most comfortable blood is shed again, is poured forth again; "for without bloodshed is no remission." It must be a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice, for which sin is par-

Heb. ix.

doned. "Christ, (saith Paul,) by his own blood entered once for all into the holy place, and found eternal redemption:" so that all sin, both that is past, and that which is to come, in the chosen, is and shall be pardoned by his eternal sacrifice, which was offered once for all on the cross. And sin being forgiven, as the apostle telleth, by the virtue of it, "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin," but only a commemoration and a memorial. For the love of God, and of our own souls, let us keep and use this sacrament and other in the church, as Christ the author of all sacraments commandeth. He mentioneth no such use, or rather abuse and profanation. That is a sacrament, in which God certifieth us, by some outward and sensible sign, that he giveth unto us somewhat: as, for an example, in baptism there is water, which preacheth unto us remission of sins by Christ's blood. Now a sacrifice is another thing; for in a sacrifice we give, dedicate, and present some thing unto him. Wherefore the supper of the Lord is no sacrifice for sin, forasmuch as it is a sacrament. Mark this difference, brethren, and be no longer deceived. The parable of the thieves teacheth us, that Christ's coming hath disannulled all such priesthood as is called *sacerdotium;* but *presbyterium* remaineth. The priests and Levites pass by, and leave the wounded man, which was robbed going from Hierusalem to Jericho, unholpen, unprovided for. Is not he succoured only of the Samaritan? The wounded man signifieth all mankind, who descended from Hierusalem to Jericho, when he was expulsed out of paradise into this miserable world. For Hierusalem is as much to say as, *visio pacis*, or, *visio perfecta*, "a peaceable vision of God," which man had in paradise. The thieves that robbed and wounded him were the devils, that enticed him to eat[2] of concupiscence, and robbed him of his understanding, of free will, of dominion and lordship over all creatures, of the image of God after which he was made; and made him after the image of the devil himself. The priests, the Levites, were not able to help him, but only the Samaritan; that is, Christ healeth him, and restored him to the image of God again. Read over the four, five, seven, nine, and ten, to the Hebrews, and thou shalt find, that the mark that St Paul

The second reason. Heb. x.

The third reason.

No sacrament is a sacrifice.

The fourth reason.

Luke x. The wounded man.

Jerusalem.

Thieves.

The fifth reason.

[2] Eat of the tree of concupiscence, 1560.]

shooteth at in these chapters is only to fortify, that all such outward priesthood is taken away.

The sixth reason.

Moreover, mark what I say unto thee. Read over all the new testament, and thou shalt not find once this word, *sacerdos*, "priest," applied or spoken of any one sort of ministers (as the common sort do use it), but when it is referred to the Pharisees, and to such as do appertain without all doubt to the old testament. It is referred always to all christian people, which all be *sacerdotes* through Christ: and ministers have no manner of sacrifice, but common with the laity, both men and women; that is to say, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and the quick and lively oblation of their own bodies. The new testament requireth no other sacrifice. I do not mean, that every man, or woman, may christen, marry, purify women, may loose and bind consciences, may distribute the holy sacrament: but I mean, that popish and outward priesthood is crept into the church of God against the word of God; and I do believe and confess no mo orders of ministers but three, that is, deacons, and presbyters, and bishops. These three the scriptures alloweth, and shewed the manner of their creation, and declareth their offices and duties. There be mo ministrations, I will not denay; but they may be reduced all to these three. The papists make seven orders; ostiaries or porters, readers, acolites, exorcists, subdeacons, deacons, and priests; but neither of the names of five of them, nor that which is meant by the names, nor their creation, nor their offices, be expressed in the scriptures. And if I would recite the offices that they themselves assign, and their form of creation, I think mo would laugh at them than allow them. Some of the doctors write, that there were some so called in the church at their days; but that their offices were such as they describe, they cannot shew out of any doctor. They have kept the names, and changed the duties and offices, and have appointed them other duties; as it is plain, namely, in the office of a deacon; and so they do not only rack the scriptures, but also deprave and corrupt the doctors, to maintain their dreams and fantasies; and by the name of antiquity and fathers they lead us from our Father in heaven.

Ministers have no sacrifice but common with the laity.

Three orders of ministers only.

Seven orders.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

God is truth: and, whether it be lawful or honest to lie for any consideration.

God is also full of truth and mercy; of whom David witnesseth, that all his ways, or paths, are mercy and truth. Psal. xxv. He destroyeth all those that forge lies, and delighteth in such as be true, for he is truth itself. Psal. v. John xiv. Salomon, among seven things which God hateth, reckoneth lying twice, as that which God most abhorreth; affirming also in another place, that a false witness and lying lips shall not escape punishment. Prov. vi. Prov. xix. There be that think it lawful to lie; as the merchantman, to sell his wares with more advantage; and the Priscillianists, who held this opinion, that for a greater advantage, lying is not forbidden: to cover their covetousness, and to excuse their daily lying, they make three sorts of lies, *jocosum*, *perniciosum*, *officiosum*, "jesting lies," "pernicious," and "officious;" of the which they say two kinds to be lawful, honest, and commendable, bringing these examples: Nasica, when he came to Ennius the poet's house to speak with him, Ennius, having earnest business, commanded his maid to meet him at the door, and to say that he was not within: who, knowing that her master had bidden her to say so because of his business, departed. Soon after, it fortuned that Ennius came to his house, and, knocking at the door, inquired for him. Nasica, hearing one knock, and perceiving out of a window that it was Ennius, answered with a loud voice, that he was not at home. But Ennius knew his voice, and came in. Then Nasica came unto him, and said, You are impudent; for I believed your maid that you were not at home, and will not you believe me myself? In this example be two lies; one of Ennius's maid, at her master's commandment; the other of Nasica, in the way of jest and mirth; which both be defended to be honest. But I tell you all lying is forbidden.

Merchantman. Nasica. Ennius. [Cicero de Oratore, lib. ii. c. 68.]

Sara also is alleged; who, when she had laughed, denied it to three men which came unto Abraham: and he likewise

Sarah. Gen. xviii.

Abraham. Gen. xii. Gen. xx. Jacob. Gen. xxvii. is brought in, for calling his wife his sister. And Jacob, the patriarch, through the subtlety of lying, stole away his father's blessing, and the title of inheritance, from his elder brother, Esau, at the counsel of his mother Rebecca. The scripture recordeth also, that God dealt well with the midwives of Egypt, and made them houses, because with a lie they hindered the devilish intent of cruel king Pharao, and preserved the babes of the Hebrues from death. How is it true then, that he destroyeth all lying lips? Ananias and Sapphira his wife are slain for lying; but Rahab the harlot is rewarded, and numbered of St Paul among the faithful, because she by lying saved the messengers or spies of the Israelites from the pursuers of the king of Jericho. Jehu, the king of Israel, saying he had a great sacrifice to do unto Baal, gathering his priests from all the coasts of Israel into one temple, murdered them all through his lie, and is not reproved for the same. Wherefore all lying is not forbidden. We read of Christ himself, how he feigned that he would go further than the town of Emaus; and the elect vessel, St Paul, is not abashed to say he was a citizen of Rome, and born free.

The midwives. Exod. i.

Acts v. Rahab. Josh. ii. Josh. vi. Heb. xi.

King Jehu. 2 Kings x.

Luke xxiv.

Acts xxii. Acts xxiii.

With these examples lying is maintained, deceit and falsehood allowed, and named policy and prudence. But I say unto you, ye abuse God's word, ye rack it, ye make it a nose of wax, ye open it not with the right key, but with a picklock. Name not subtlety policy, nor lying jest, or duty. All crafty scoffing, all profitable lying, is damnable.

You bring, for the defence of your leasings, Nasica, Sara, Abraham, Jacob, the midwives of Egypt, Rahab, Jehu, Paul, and Christ. As for Nasica, his saying was a jest, a merry conceit, and no lie. Jests and merry conceits be no lies, forasmuch as they be uttered not to harm, noy, or hinder any man, but for mirth sake. A man may affirm that which is false, and yet make no lie: for to lie is to affirm an untruth with a mind to hurt, endamage, and deceive, some man thereby.

The answer.

Abraham lied not. Gen. xx. Abraham said not to Abimilech, "She is not my wife," but, "She is my sister:" the[1] which was true, for she was his sister by his father, but not by his mother; the daughter of Aran his brother, and consequently of his father; foras-

[1] The which, 1550; which, 1560.]

much as *filii filiorum dicuntur etiam filii avorum*, "the son-sons, or daughters, are called also the sons and daughters of the grandfathers[2]." And so she was Abraham's sister, because she was his father's daughter; and she was his father's daughter, because she was his brother's daughter. Wherefore he spake nothing that was false, but he kept that close which was true; saying she was his sister, and not confessing her his wife: the which thing also his son Isaac did afterward. But this was no lying, to hide the truth, but to affirm that which is false. And otherwise, Sara lied indeed, and her example is in that point to be eschewed; for many things are written which are not to be followed. Gen. xxvi.

The saying of Jacob is no lie, but a mystery.

The story of Jacob is no lie, but a mystery; and the mystery proved true afterward. When his father asked him, "Who art thou, son?" he answered, "I am Esau, thy eldest son:" whereby nothing else is meant and signified, than that which Christ saith, "Ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves thrust out. And they shall come from the east, and west, and north, and south, and sit in the kingdom of God. And, behold, they be last which shall be first; and they be first which shall be last." This thing now is come to pass; for we are "his people, which were not his people, and his beloved, which were not beloved." St Paul nameth this a mystery: "I would not this mystery should be hidden from you, brethren, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; forasmuch as blindness is partly happened in Israel, till the fulness of the gentiles be come in." Of these places it appeareth, that Jacob's saying, "I am Esau, thy eldest son," is as much to say as, "The last shall be first, and the first last;" which is a true saying and no lie, because it is a mystery. For if we count mysteries to be lies, we must count likewise all parables and metaphors, all tropes and figures, to be no less; in which the meaning is to be considered, and not the proper signification of the word. Christ is called a lion, a rock, a door, a lamb. The children of the kingdom are called good seed; and the wicked, tares. The father of heaven is named a husbandman; and God's word a sword, a hammer, a key. Man's life is called a span, a shadow, &c.

Gen. xxvii. Luke xiii. Rom. ix. Rom. xi. Rev. v. 1 Cor. x. John x. Matt. xiii. John xv. Luke xxii. Jer. xxiii. Psal. cxliv. Psal. xxxix.

[2 Grandfather, 1550; grandfathers, 1560.]

These manner of speeches be no lies, but plain demonstrations of hard matters, in easy and common terms. We be taught by the lion, rock, and door, which we know, what Christ is, whom we know not; and by the husbandman, we learn what God the Father is; by the sword, the hammer, the strength of God's word; by the key, how it is to be expounded; by the span, the shadow, the shortness of man's life: which be fruitful matters. In semblable manner, in this story we learn of Esau the blindness of the Jews; and of Jacob, the younger, the fulness of the gentiles.

Now, to speak of the midwives of Egypt and of Rahab: God did not reward them for their lie, but for their mercy, because they dealt kindly with his people; for which also he forgave them their lie, wherein they sinned undoubtedly grievously: for the mouth which lieth killeth the soul.

Exod. i. If those midwives had been perfect women, they would have refused that office whereunto Pharao appointed them; for

Josh. ii. vi. it was to murder the infants of the Israelites. And Rahab had done better, if she had not lied, but answered, "I know where they be, but, because I fear God, I will never shew it." They could have lost nothing by this answer, although they had suffered death therefore. For "blessed be the dead that die in the Lord." By the other way they gat them houses upon the earth; but this way they might have purchased that house, of which it is written: "Blessed be they which dwell in thy house, they shall praise thee evermore." Stories make mention of one Firmius, bishop of Tagasta, who, making this answer in such a case, lost nought thereby. When the emperor sent his officers to search after a certain man whom he had hidden, he, being inquired for him, said, he would not deny but that he had hidden him, because of lying; but that he would never betray him. For which answer he was grievously pained: but no pain could cause him to disclose where the man was. The emperor, marvelling at his stedfastness, delivered him.

Bishop Firmius. [Augustin. De Mendacio, lib. i. c. 23. Opera vi. 434. Edit. Paris. 1679-1700.]

Jehu in his lying is no more to be followed, than in

2 Kings x. the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nabat, which made Israel sin with the golden calves in Bethel and Dan. For it is written of him, that "he forced not himself to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart."

St Paul made no lie; for he was indeed a citizen of

Rome, because his father was free; as at London, the children of freemen be citizens and free. How Paul was a citizen of Rome.

Now, as concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, God forbid that we should say he lied, in whose mouth no guile could be found; who speaketh of himself, "I am the way, the truth." His pretending to go further was no lying, Luke xxiv. but a true meaning; for he went further afterward, when he ascended up into the heaven in the sight of his apostles; which thing only was meant, by his pretending to go further: for it is a mystery. No man therefore can affirm that Christ lied, but he that denieth him to have ascended.

Many false things are feigned, to signify and teach true things: which be no lies; for they be not spoken as things true, as things done, but to teach us what we should do: as the narration of Lazarus and the rich man; the Luke xvi. parable of him which had two sons, of the which one Luke xv. abode at home with his father, the other went into far countries; the parable of trees in the book of Judges, Judg. ix. which speak[1] one to another; the parable of the vineyard, Matt. xxi. Matt. xxv. of the virgins, of ten groats, of the sheep, of the unright- Luke xv. Luke xviii. eous judge, of mustard seed, and of the Pharisee and the Matt. xiii. Luke xviii. Publican. If all these be lies, Christ is a great and notable liar, who spake always in parables to the people; the prophets are liars; yea, all the scripture is full of lies. Not only the scripture, but all heathen writers use this manner of teaching; as Horace, making the little mouse to Horace. speak; and Esop, giving language to fowls, fishes, and four- [Sat. Lib. ii. vi. 80.] footed beasts: and yet not any wise man slandered them Esop. at any time of lying. Thus it is evident, that they which maintain lying rack the scriptures, and open them not with Peter's key, but with a picklock; and that the examples brought for lying either be no lies, but jests, as Nasica; or mysteries, as Jacob's, Christ's; or true sayings, as Abraham's, Isaac, and Paul; or else, if they be lies, as Ennius' maid, Sara, the midwives, Rahab, Jehu, they are earnestly to be eschewed: for no lie is of the truth; and whatso- 1 John ii. ever is not of the truth, is naught, seeing God is truth.

[1 Speak, 1550; spake, 1560.]

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

God is full of compassion.

He is also full of mercy; letting the sun shine upon
Psal. civ. good and evil, and sending rain to both sorts. "Thou, most gracious Lord, bringest forth grass and herbs for cattle, and food out of the earth; thou givest us wine to make our hearts glad, and oil to cheer our countenance, and bread to strengthen the heart; thou satisfiest all men's desires with good things," and specially of those that be merciful; as the only-begotten Son maketh proclamation in the moun-
Matt. v. tain: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive
Psal. xxxiii. mercy." "The earth is full of thy mercies: and it, O Lord, reacheth unto the heaven." No place is empty of thy mercies.

The Origenists defend, that God's mercy pierceth into hell, and that all men, the devils also, shall at length be
Psal. cv. saved, alleging this scripture, "His mercy be upon all
Psal. cxlv. his works," and, "The mercy of God is upon all flesh."
Eccius.xviii. They bring also God's righteousness in judgment, which they deny to punish sin everlastingly; for then the punishment should be greater than the fault, which is temporal, and hath an end. This is a merciful heresy: but God sheweth no
Matt. xxv. mercy against his truth. His truth saith: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." No man can here justly say, that everlasting fire is taken for a long fire; albeit the Latin word, *eternum*, be sometime taken so, *pro diuturno;* for the Greek is, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, which word is never taken
The answer. but for evermore, world without end. As for their argument, that the punishment must be no greater than the fault: I answer, that our least fault deserveth everlasting fire, because it is committed against God, who is everlasting; albeit the fault be begun and ended in time: so that he is more to be considered against whose divine will it is done, than what is done. For the scripture denieth him
Matt. v. the kingdom of heaven, that breaketh one of the least com-

mandments. Doth it not cry, that "in hell there is no redemption:" and, "In death who remembereth thee? and who will give thee thanks in hell?" and, "Where the tree falleth, there it shall lie." The continuance of hell fire is described notably of Christ, where he commandeth us to cut off our hand, our foot, and to pluck out our eye; that is, to prefer heavenly things to our fathers, and mothers, and familiar friends; saying, "If thy hand offend thee, cut him off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into fire unquenchable; where their worm dieth not, and the fire never goeth out." What can be more plainly, more vehemently spoken, of the endless pain of the wicked, than these words, "Into fire unquenchable; where their worm dieth not and the fire never goeth out?" which terms, in the same place, be repeated twice more afterward.

Psal. vi.

Mark ix.

If there be no redemption in hell, how is it written in the book of the Kings, "Our Lord bringeth folk down into hell, and bringeth them again?" We read also, that Anania, Azaria, and Misael, blessed the Lord for delivering them out of hell, and [1]saving them from the power of death. This word, "hell," in the first place, doth not signify that which is commonly meant thereby, but a grave or pit that is digged: for the Hebrew word is *sheol*. "If any evil chance unto my son Benjamin in the land whither you go, you shall bring down mine hoar hairs with sorrow unto hell," that is, into my grave. In Daniel it signifieth adversity, trouble, and misery; as in many other places.

An objection.

1 Sam. ii. Dan. iii.

Psal. xvi.

Hell hath three significations.

Gen. xlii.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

God is full of rightcousness: and, of the prosperity of evil men, and the affliction of good men.

This endless punishment of the wicked is no derogation to God's great mercy; but rather a mirror of his righteous-

[1] Saving them from, 1550; saving from, 1560.]

ness. For as he is merciful, so is he righteous: as the mercy endureth for ever toward the good, so his righteousness endureth no less time toward the evil. David
Psal. cxlv. testifieth him to be "just in all his ways, and holy in all his works." By his righteousness he hated Cain, Esau, and the thief on the left hand; and by his mercy he loved Abel, Jacob, and him that hung on the right hand. Through these two happened the blindness of the Jews, and the ful-
Rom. iii. ness of the gentiles. If he be unrighteous, how shall he judge the world? His saints' judgments be righteous: he shutteth the unrighteous out of heaven: he rewardeth right dealers: wherefore he himself must needs be a righteous God.

Thou wilt say: "Why then doth he suffer the wicked to prosper; giving them riches, honour, and children? And why doth he punish the godly with poverty, sickness, and all kind of misery? Why doth he suffer wicked Manasses to murder cruelly Esay? Why doth he let Jeremy be slain of Apries, Zachary of the high priests, John Baptist of Herode, Christ of Pilate? Why doth he suffer the devil to plague the patient man Job with all kind of adversity? Why will he all good men to bear a cross in
1 Cor. xi. this world?" St Paul telleth us, "When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, lest we be damned with the
Psal. cxix. world." And, "It is good for me," said David, "that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy statutes." Here two causes be rehearsed, why God layeth affliction, trouble, and the cross, upon the shoulders of his elect; that they may avoid damnation, and learn to keep his commandments; for trouble giveth understanding. "Lord," saith
Isai. xxviii. Isai. xxvi. Esay, "in trouble they cry unto thee." The adversity which
2 Cor. iv. they suffer is a lesson unto them. "When the outward man perisheth, the inward is renewed day by day." More-
Gen. iii. over, "God hath set at the entering of the garden of pleasure cherubim, with a fiery sword, moving in and out, to keep the way to the tree of life;" to which there is no access but by affliction, which is porter: as it is written, "We must enter through much trouble into the kingdom of
Prov. iii. heaven." Wherefore, "God loveth them whom he troubleth;
Heb. xii. and he scourgeth every son that he receiveth." "They that are under no correction, are called bastards, no sons."

Cato, when Pompey was overthrown of valiant Julius Cæsar, began to be angry with God, thinking him partial: but we christian men may not do so, knowing adversity to be a token of God's favour, an occasion of understanding, a cause of amendment. These scriptures teach us, that God punisheth his elect for their erudition and commodity, not[1] for any unrighteousness; albeit, the holiest man that ever was deserveth a cross in this life. His righteousness impoverisheth us, plagueth us, and condemneth us: and his mercy enricheth us, healeth us, and crowneth us.

An objection.

But it is written of Jacob and Esau, that "or they were born, or they had done good or evil, God loved the one, and hated the other;" which was contrary to all true judgment. St Paul, in the same place, compareth God to a potter, and men to clay. "The potter hath power over the clay, to make, even of one and the same lump, one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour." And hath not God power over us, which be but clay, that is naught, the children of wrath, to condemn or to save? The Latin word here declareth more plainly what we be, which is, *Ex eodem luto*. We be all become dirt by the fall of the first Adam. If he crown dirt, it is his mercy through the second Adam. If he condemn it, he giveth right judgment. Thou wilt say then, "Why blameth he us? For who can resist his will?" He made thee not clay, that is, the child of death; but after the image of God, and without sin. Thou art dirt and clay through the sin of Adam, not because of thy creation; for God would have all men saved. And why be they not? The cause is not in him, but in us: not that we be able to withstand his will, but because he will save none against their will. He will save all; that is, all that will take it when it is offered them; all that refuse not the salvation of their own souls, as the Israelites did. For Christ saith unto them, that "he would have gathered them together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and they would not." Such be not saved; for God saveth no man against his will. There is, then, no partiality, no unrighteousness with God, whose judgments be unsearchable, but never against justice; above our ca-

The answer. Rom. ix.

Rom. ix.

The cause in us not in God[2].

Matt. xxiii

[1] Not, 1550; nor 1560.]

[2] This passage is not in the edition of 1550.]

pacity, but never against equity. Who is able to discuss, why some die old, some young, some in middle age? why some be poor, some rich, some gentlemen, some lords, some kings, some of a base stock, and other infinite diversities? If these things were necessary to be known, God would have opened them in his scriptures: but, in that he speaketh not of them, he judgeth them unprofitable for us to know. Let us believe, that God worketh all these things, and that therefore they must needs be right and just, because he is the workman; not searching things above our understandings; but say, with St Paul, "O the deepness of the riches, and wisdom, and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways untraceable! for who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who was his counsellor?"

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

God is full of compassion.

He is full of all goodness, St James witnessing of him,
James i. that "every good gift is from above, and cometh down from the father of light;" that is, father of good men; for they
Matt. v. are called light. *Vos estis lux mundi*, "you are the light
1 Cor. iv. of the world." "What have we, that we have not received?" He is liberal, patient, merciful, wise, strong, constant, equal,
James i. faithful, magnifical, affable. Liberal, "giving to all men indifferently, and casting no man in the teeth;" patient, "call-
Rom. ii. ing us through his long suffering unto repentance;" merciful,
Psal. ciii. "not dealing with us after our sins, nor rewarding us according to our wickedness;" wise, for "of his wisdom," David
Psal. cxlvii. Psal. lxii. saith, "there is no number;" strong, for "he is our buckler, our shield, our strength and defence, the rock of our might,
James i. and castle of our health;" constant, "with whom no man
Rom. ii. Gal. iii. can prove any variableness;" equal, for "there is no partiality with God;" "there is no Jew neither Gentile, neither

bond nor free, neither man ne woman, but all be one in Christ Jesu;" faithful, for "he is a strong God and a faithful; stable in all his words;" magnifical, for "the work of the Lord is great, and worthy to be praised;" "the heavens, the sun, and the stars, the waters, and great fishes therein, are the work of thy fingers;" affable, exhorting us continually to ask, knock, and pray unto him; and talking with us most familiarly, first by holy fathers, his prophets and patriarchs; afterward by his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, walking here upon earth, to whom belongeth all power, majesty, rule, and honour. We read of a certain ruler, which called Christ "Good master;" asking him what he should do to obtain everlasting life: whom Christ rebuked, saying, "Why callest thou me good? None is good, save God only." If God only be good, then all goodness is in him.

Deut. vii. Psal. cxlv. Psal. viii. Matt. vii. Heb. i. Luke xviii.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only is immortal; and yet, nevertheless, the minds of men and angels be immortal.

He is without beginning, without ending. How can he have any beginning, of whom all things take their original? How can he have any end, who is of himself, and by no other thing? Heaven and earth perisheth; and all that is in them shall fade away as grass, and as the flower of the field: but our God liveth eternally; who speaketh of himself, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending; which is, which was, and which is to come." Paul affirmeth the same unto his disciple Timothe; giving all honour and rule unto God, "who only hath immortality."

Rev. i. 1 Tim. vi.

If only God have immortality, why doth Christ forbid us to fear men, which slay the body, and cannot slay the soul? How is man formed after the image and similitude of God? How can the immortality of the mind be defended, and of

How only[1] God is said to be immortal.

[1] Only God, 1550; God only, 1560.]

Angels. angels? Truly man's soul is immortal, and yet only God is immortal: for this word, "only," doth not deny this privilege to other things, as to man's soul, to the angels; but God is said only to be immortal, as he is said only to be good, and only to forgive sin. Man's soul is immortal; but clean after another sort than God, who only hath immortality. For the scripture testifieth of man's soul, that it dieth, saying, "Suffer the dead to bury their dead;" that is to say, let the dead in soul bury the dead in body. It is troubled with affections, with passions, and subject to mutability. But it so dieth through vice, that it ceaseth not to live in his own nature. It is so mortal, that it is also immortal. Wherefore God is only everlasting, immortal, evermore, who is only immutable. And if this interpretation do not content thee, hear another. That is immortal properly, which is without beginning, without ending. All creatures have a beginning; of the which some nevertheless are called immortal, because they have no ending; as, the angels, man's soul: but only God is properly immortal, who speaketh of himself, "I am, which is, which was, which is to come." This belongeth only to God; and to none of his creatures, to none of the works of his fingers: of which, some may truly say, that they be, and are to come; but not, that they were; because once they were not.

Man's soul is both mortal and immortal.

Matt. viii.

Immortal properly.

Rev. i.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

God is the maker of all things: whereof he made them, by whom, and who made the devil: and, of the beginning of sin, and all[1] *evil.*

In the beginning God made all things: wherefore he hath no beginning; and that which never had beginning, cannot have ending. When I say, God made all things, I mean, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, formed heaven and earth, angels and men, and all other creatures, of nothing. For of the Son it is written, "All things were

The world is the workmanship of the whole Trinity.

John i.

[1] All evil, 1550; evil, 1560.]

made by him;" and of the holy Comforter, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth:" where the Latin is *Spiritus*. Yea, in the beginning of the book it is written of them both, that they be no creatures. Of the Son: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth:" that is, in Christ. For he answereth the Jews, asking what he was, "I am the beginning which speak unto you;"[2] and in whose behalf David speaketh, "In the beginning of the book it is written of me." Paul to the Hebrews repeateth the latter text, and expoundeth it of Christ. And, *Dixit Deus, fiat lux, &c.* "God said, Be there light:" "Be there a firmament:" "God said, The waters be gathered together:" "God said, Be there lights in the firmament." This phrase and manner of speaking is joined with the creation of every thing. What did God say? What language did he speak? Did he speak Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, English, or Hebrew? Mark, this was no audible voice, no sounding or transitory noise, coming from the lights; but God said, Be there light, firmament, &c.: that is to say, God made these things by his saying, by his word, by his voice; which is Christ, as it is written, "In the beginning was the Word;" that is, "In the Father was Christ;" and all things were made by it, and nothing was made without it; as Moses teacheth very well, repeating these words, *Deus dixit*, "God said," in the creation of every thing. And why is Christ called his Father's Word? Truly, because he is his image; and no man cometh to the knowledge of the Father, but by the Son. And as we do open, manifest, and declare our minds one to another by our words and communication; so God is disclosed, opened, and discovered by Christ. "No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." In his sermons he is sincerely published, and plainly painted and portrayed. For this cause he is surnamed the saying of God, and an audible and a transitory Word: not properly; but by a metaphor and borrowed speech. And this transitory Word made all things, upholdeth all things, governeth all things.

Psal. xxxiii.

Christ maker thereof. Gen. i.

In the beginning. John viii. Psal. xl. Heb. x.

Gen. i. God said.

John i.

Why Christ is named a Word. Heb. i.

John i.

Now, touching the Holy Spirit, we read in the first chapter of Generation, *Et Spiritus Domini ferebatur*, "the Spirit

The Holy Spirit is maker of the world. Gen. i.

[2] John viii. 25. τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν.]

of the Lord was borne upon the waters." Many do expound by the Spirit, in this text, the wind; but it cannot be taken so, for many causes. First, the wind is the exhalation, or spirit, of the waters; this was the Spirit of God, as the text doth say. Moreover, the wind then was uncreate, unmade. For I think no man will defend, that the wind was made before the first day, which is made after these words. And others do read, for *ferebatur super aquas,—fovebat, vel excludebat, aquas,* "the Spirit did bring forth or hatch the waters;" and so indeed the word signifieth in the Syrian tongue. Wherefore, "was borne upon the waters," is no blast of wind, but a metaphor of the hen, and a borrowed speech. The hen is borne of her eggs, and sitteth upon them, and so hatcheth her young: and so the Holy Ghost was borne upon the waters; sat upon them; brought forth and hatched all creatures, which there are called waters. For, as it is written, "When thou lettest thy Spirit go forth, they are made." Basil[1], who for his great learning was surnamed

Borne upon the waters, what it is.

Psal. civ.

Basil.

[1 Εἴγε τοῦτο λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν χύσιν, δέξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου καταριθμοῦντά σοι τὸν συγγραφέα, ὅτι ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς οὐρανὸν, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, τοῦτον χεόμενον ἤδη καὶ ῥέοντα· εἴτε, ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἀληθέστερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐγκριθὲν, πνεῦμα Θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἴρηται (διὰ τὸ τετηρῆσθαι τοῦτο ἰδιαζόντως καὶ ἐξαιρέτως τῆς τοιαύτης μνήμης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἢ τὸ ἅγιον τὸ τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος συμπληρωτικὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι), καὶ ταύτην προσδεξάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, μείζονα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠφέλειαν εὑρήσεις. Πῶς οὖν ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος; ἐρῶ σοι οὐκ ἐμαυτοῦ λόγον, ἀλλὰ Σύρου ἀνδρὸς σοφίας κοσμικῆς τοσοῦτον ἀφεστηκότος, ὅσον ἐγγὺς ἦν τῆς τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐπιστήμης. Ἔλεγε τοίνυν τὴν τῶν Σύρων φωνὴν ἐμφατικωτέραν τε εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γειτνίασιν μᾶλλόν πως τῇ ἐννοίᾳ τῶν γραφῶν προσεγγίζειν· εἶναι οὖν τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ῥητοῦ τοιαύτην. Τὸ Ἐπεφέρετο, φησὶν, ἐξηγοῦνται, ἀντὶ τοῦ Συνέθαλπε καὶ ἐζωογόνει τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν, κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐπωαζούσης ὄρνιθος, καὶ ζωτικήν τινα δύναμιν ἐνιείσης τοῖς ὑποθαλπομένοις. Τοιοῦτόν τινά φησιν ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης παραδηλοῦσθαι τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἐπιφερομένου τοῦ πνεύματος· τουτέστι πρὸς ζωογονίαν τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν παρασκευάζοντος. ὥστε ἱκανῶς ἐκ τούτου τὸ παρά τινων ἐπιζητούμενον δείκνυσθαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ τῆς δημιουργικῆς ἐνεργείας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπολείπεται. Basil. in Hexam. Homil. ii. Opera, i. 21. Edit. Par. 1638.]

magnus, expoundeth this text thus, and saith that his predecessors took it so; and St Austin[2] is of the same mind; and Philip Melancthon[3] alloweth their interpretation. Thus it is evident, that the universal world is the workmanship of the whole Trinity, whose works be inseparable, as they be inseparable, and one almighty, everlasting, invisible, unsearchable God, of one substance and nature, power and majesty, who gathered the waters together as it were in a bottle, who maketh the clouds his chariot and goeth upon the wings of the wind, and who spreadeth out heaven like unto a curtain. Augustine. Melancthon.

After that he had finished all his works, he beheld them; and, lo, they were exceeding good. Now there be many things not good, unprofitable, unfruitful, perilous; for thorns and thistles prick us; the gout grieveth us; the pocks, the canker consumeth us; the sciatica paineth us; spasms, palsies, fevers, noy us; serpents do poison us; flies do bite us; cats do scrat us; fleas do eat us; mountains weary us; snow doth let us; thunders do fear us; the cocodriles do kill our bodies, and the devil our souls.

God made not these things, for all that he made was good; and if he made not these, he made not all things. The earth bringeth forth thorns and thistles, and other venomous

[2 Non ita superferebatur sicut oleum aquæ, vel aqua terræ, id est quasi contineretur; sed, si ad hoc de visibilibus exempla capienda sunt, sicut superfertur lux ista solis aut lunæ his corporibus, quæ illuminat in terra: non enim continetur illis; sed cum cœlo contineatur, istis superfertur. Item cavendum est, ne quasi locorum spatiis Dei Spiritum superferri materiæ putemus, sed vi quadam effectoria et fabricatoria, ut illud cui superfertur efficiatur et fabricetur; sicut superfertur voluntas artificis ligno, vel cuique rei subjectæ ad operandum, vel etiam ipsis membris corporis sui, quæ ad operandum movet. Et hæc similitudo cum jam sit omni corpore excellentior, parva est tamen, et prope nihil ad intelligendam superlationem Spiritus Dei, subjectâ sibi ad operandum mundi materia: sed non invenimus evidentiorem similitudinem et propinquiorem rei, de qua loquimur, in iis rebus quæ ab hominibus quomodocunque capi possunt. August. de Genes. Opera, iii. 98. edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[3 Spiritus Dei in scripturis Spiritum sanctum significat: ideo non exponemus de aere, nam aer aqua est; et pro *ferebatur, fovebat* legunt Basilius, Ambrosius, et Hieronimus, et Syrum quendam testem citat Basilius. Atque ita idem hic docetur, quod supra: conservationem aquæ non naturæ esse, sed Spiritus sancti incubantis aquæ. Melancthon, in Genesin, cap. i. Opera, II. 380. edit. Witebergæ, 1601.]

Sin the cause of barrenness[1]. Gen. iii.

herbs, not by nature, but through the sin of man: unto whom God speaketh, "Because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee not to eat, cursed be the earth in thy work; in sorrow shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life; and it shall bear thorns and thistles unto thee; and thou shalt eat the herbs of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Before sin, we read not that the earth brought forth thistles, bushes, unfruitful trees; but green grass, fruitful trees, and herbs bearing wholesome seeds.

Gen. i.

The cause of sickness.

The fall of Adam also caused all manner of griefs, pangs, sickness, disease; which then began to torment man, when God had said, "In sorrow shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life." By this word, "sorrow," all such things be meant and signified. If you ask me, why God suffered the earth to bring forth thorns and unfruitful trees? my answer is, not to pain the earth with them, which feeleth no pain; but to admonish us of our sin; to put us in remembrance of our fault; to be a warning unto us, as often as we see them, to take heed that we sin no more. For if he punish the earth for our sins, how much more will he punish us! Wherefore this memory shall continue until the sting of death, which is sin, be taken away; and until that be brought to pass that is written, "Death is consumed into victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory?" By unfruitful trees, he warneth us that we be not unfruitful. For as husbandmen forsake their trees, not dunging, not watering them, when they be barren, but do[3] burn them; even so God ceaseth to pour his blessings upon the unfruitful; for he is a husbandman. Hearken what his only Son saith, whom we are commanded to hear: "I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman:" "He that abideth not in me, is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather it, and cast it into the fire, and it burneth." This fruit we may gather and learn of the unfruitful tree. By sickness, partly he scourgeth us for our sin; partly he tryeth us, and learneth us his will; as it is written: "The oven proveth the potter's vessel; so doth temptation of trouble try righteous men."

Why God cursed[2] the earth.

1 Cor. xv.

John xv.

Ecclus. xxvii.

[1] Barrenness, 1550; barren, 1560.]
[2] Cursed, 1550; curseth, 1560.]
[3] Do, 1550; to, 1560.]

Now we are come to those which demand, who made serpents, cocodriles, flies, worms, &c.; of which much harm and no profit cometh? Verily, he who made all things. Although they be hurtful unto us for our disobedience, yet be they exceeding good in their own nature, and profit unto the furnishing of the whole world; no less than the other, which we recount more profitable and precious. If an ignorant man chance to go into a cunning man's shop, and happen to see many tools there that he knoweth not, he thinketh them either to be unprofitable or not necessary. Even so we, in Almighty God's shop, which is the world, do judge many things to be naught, because we are ignorant. The cocodrile, the little fly, the small flea, have their commodity, albeit we know it not. Our ignorance doth not argue God's works to be unprofitable. Yea, God's glory and wonderful power is more marvellous in making the little fly to hear, to taste, and to feel, with a mouth, with legs, with wings, a body, the stomach, the other inward parts, than in an elephant; and more marvellous in a frog, than in a great whale; and in a mouse, than in a mighty horse. If thou come into a rich man's house, and seest much stuff, thou thinkest all to be to some purpose; and darest thou judge, that God in his house hath made any thing to no purpose? All God's creatures either be profitable, or hurtful, or not necessary: thank him for the profitable, take heed of the hurtful, and question not, reason not, of things not necessary. For although thy capacity cannot perceive it, yet God hath made all things in measure, and number, and weight. He made not the devil, for he made him an angel; and he made himself a devil by sinning, when he fell from heaven as lightning. For the devil is as much to say as an accuser and a seducer; of the Greek word *diaballo*, which signifieth to accuse, to infame, to deceive. God made man, but he made not man evil: so he made him an angel, but not a devil. He made many angels, but they made themselves evil; for no evil cometh of him, as it is written: "He beheld many things, yea, all that he had made; and, lo, they were exceeding good." But why did he make him an angel, knowing he would become a devil? Why did he make other angels innumerable? Why many thousands of men, women, and children, which he foreseeth

Who made the serpents, flies, and other like.

Wisd. xi.

Who made the devil.

Luke x.

Gen. i.

shall be damned? Verily, that he might declare himself to be righteous in punishing the ungodly, as he is merciful in rewarding the godly. No man can blame him therefore, but rather magnify his righteousness. He compelleth them not to sin, for which they are damned. Should God, because he foresaw they would be evil, abstain from creating them, which is good? Is it not lawful for him to do what him listeth with his own? Are their eyes evil because he is good? Should he not do well in making them, because they would do ill in offending him? Of this thing seek a further answer in the twelfth of the book of Wisdom. But let us return from whence we are strayed, albeit these questions are annexed unto our purpose.

Matt. xx.

Wisd. xii.

The smith is not able to make any thing without iron, nor the carpenter without wood, nor the tailor without cloth, nor the shoemaker without leather, nor the potter without clay: but God, who is almighty, made all things of nothing. Before any thing was, what could there be to make them of, except he would have made them of himself? Jesus, the son of Sirach, saith: *Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia simul*, "He that liveth for evermore made all things, *simul*, together:" that is, God made, first, a confused heap, called in Greek *chaos*, of nothing; and of that heap he formed all things: as it is written, *Qui fecisti mundum ex materia informi*, "Who hast formed the world of a confused heap." He made this heap altogether, where he saith, "In the beginning God created all things, heaven and earth;" for the heap is called there heaven and earth, as afterward also it is called the water; "The spirit of the Lord was borne upon the waters." So far no time, no order of days, is mentioned. Afterward God, of this heap, in six days, shapeth all things. So that both be true, that God made the world in six days, and that he made all things together. This article of creation is necessary to be known; forasmuch as some deny God to be the maker of the world, and giveth the glory thereof to angels; as the Menandrians, Saturnians, Cerinthians, and also the Nicolaitans; and it is the first article of our creed.

All things were made of nothing together, and[1] in six days.

Ecclus. xviii.

Wisd. xi.

Gen. i.

[1] Together and in, 1550; together in, 1560.]

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

God ruleth the world after his providence: and how he rested the seventh day.

OTHER grant God to be maker of all things: but they suppose that, as the shipwright, when he hath made the ship, leaveth it to the mariners, and meddleth no more therewith; and as the carpenter leaveth the house that he hath made; even so God, after he had formed all things, left all his creatures to their own governance, or to the governance of the stars; not ruling the world after his providence, but living in ease and quietness, as the Stoics, Epicures, and divers astrologers; because it is written, that on the seventh day God rested from all his works.

To these I answer, with the prophet David: "God covereth the heaven with clouds, prepareth rain for the earth, maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, giveth fodder unto the cattle, maketh fast the bars of the gates of Sion, blesseth the children within, maketh peace in our borders, filleth us with the flour of wheat, giveth us snow like wool, scattereth the hoar frost like ashes, casteth forth his ice like morsels, helpeth them to right that sustain wrong, looseth men out of prison, giveth sight to the blind, raiseth up them that are fallen, careth for strangers, defendeth the fatherless, succoureth the widow:" wherefore he is not an idle God. For as the body liveth through the life of the soul, even so the world continueth by God's governance, who ruleth it as the master doth his servant; without whom it perisheth in the twinkling of an eye. "All things wait upon him to receive food in due season. When he giveth it them, they gather it; when he openeth his hand, they are filled with good things: when he hideth his face, they are sorrowful; if he take away his breath, they die, and are turned again to dust." The commonwealth of the Israelites teacheth us, how wonderfully God provideth for them that he hath chosen. He preserved Jacob from his brother Esau; he sent Joseph into Egypt, to make pro-

Psal. cxlvii.

Psal. cxlvi.

Psal. civ.

Gen. xxxiii. Gen. xlv. Psal. cv.

Exod. x. vision against the seven dear years. He sent darkness
Exod. vii. amongst the Egyptians; he turned their waters into blood,
Psal. lxxviii. and slew their fish. Their lands brought forth frogs, flies,
Exod. viii. lice, grasshoppers, caterpillars, yea, even in their king's cham-
Exod. xii. bers. He brought them forth of the house of bondage and
Exod. xiv. slavery with silver and gold. He rebuked the sea, and dried
it up, and he led them through the deep as in the wilder-
Exod. xiii. ness. He spread out a cloud to be a covering, and fire
Psal. cv.
Exod. xvi. to give light in the night season. At their desires came
quails, and he filled them with the bread of heaven. He
opened the rock of stone, and the waters flowed out, so
Josh. iii. that rivers came into the wilderness. He dried up the
waters of Jordan, that the people might pass over. He
Josh. vi. overthrew the walls of Jericho, and made the sun to stand
Josh. x.
Psal. cxxxv. still, and the day was lengthened. He slew mighty kings,
Num. xxi.
Deut. iii. Sehon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Basan, and
Josh. xii. gave away their land for an heritage. Of which scriptures
it doth consequently follow, that he governeth the world
by his providence, and not by the wheel of fortune, or by
force of destiny. For if he governed them, he governeth
Psal. xxiv. us; seeing the earth is the Lord's, and all that is therein,
the compass of the world, and all that dwell therein.

But some do say, that he governed the Israelites, the
1 Pet. ii. seed of Abraham, the chosen generation; but not the re-
sidue of the earth, which he gave up to their own govern-
ance. Verily God ruled all, as he is Lord of all. For
Acts xiv. Paul preacheth to the Athenians, that "we live, move, and
Acts xvii. be in him." He gave them also rain, light, corn, grass;
Job xxxviii. as he himself teacheth Job out of a storm, saying: "Who
divideth the abundance of waters into rivers? Or who maketh
a way for the stormy weather, that it watereth and moist-
ureth the dry and barren ground, to make grass grow where
nobody dwelleth? Who is the father of rain? Or who
hath begotten the drops of our dew? Out of whose womb
came the ice? Who hath gendered the coldness of the air,
that the waters are as hard as stones, and lie congealed
above the deep?" Did he not stir up Pharao among
1 Kings xx. the Egyptians, Benhadad among the Syrians, Salmanasar
among the Assyrians, Nabuchodonozer among the Babylo-
nians, Darius among the Medes, Artaxarces among the
Parthians, Alexander among the Macedonians, and Ves-

pasian among the Romans? In the book of the Kings, Elias is commanded to anoint Hasael king of Syria; Jehu, of Israel; and Eliseus to be prophet in his room. Whereby he teacheth us, that he maketh prophets and kings, and taketh away their kingdoms; as it is written, *Propter injustitias, et injurias, et diversos dolos, &c.* "Because of unrighteous dealing, wrong, and divers deceits, kingdoms shall be translated from one to another; for the power of the earth is in the hand of God." 1 Kings xix. Ecclus. x.

If kings would earnestly believe this, which is God's own voice, and behold how many kings he deposed in the book of Kings, and for what causes, they would be as earnest to set forth God's glory, that is, to cause the gospel to be preached through their dominions, and to relieve their poor brethren, which be members of the same body that they be, children of the same father, and heirs of the same kingdom, and that which is done to them is done to Christ, as they have been diligent, politic, yea, rather deceitful, in increasing their revenues, in filling their hutches with gold and silver: they would first seek for the kingdom of God, and then God would be their castle, and cast all other things upon them, or else he is untrue of his promise. One being demanded, how a king might rule safely and assuredly, answered: If he devise good laws, and see them diligently practised. This is a necessary lesson for all princes that will live in quietness, or that will enjoy their crowns with long continuance. And a king ought to be a father to his subjects; not only to the gentlemen, but rather to his poor commons, for they have more need: he is the head of them as well as of the other. What causeth uproars and insurrections sooner than oppression of the poor? or what provoketh the wrath of God more against them? If I were demanded, how a king might not only pass his time safely, but also all his posterity and offspring continue in possession of the kingdom, I would answer: If he seek the glory of God unfeignedly. For if kingdoms be translated for unrighteousness, they are preserved by righteousness: if promotion come neither from the east nor from the west, but from the king of heaven, the way to attain it, and to maintain and continue it, is to please the king of heaven. An exhortation to kings.[1] Matt. vi.

[1] This passage was added in the edition of 1560.]

The patient man, Job, saith, that Almighty God oftentimes, for the wickedness and sin of the people, suffereth an hypocrite to reign over them. Now I think, that there was never more godly pretence, more outward shew of holiness, more dissimulation in rulers, than now is; and this is hypocrisy; and all the people be like the rulers, I warrant you. I would wish that all kings would diligently read over, and earnestly believe, the Chronicle of the kings. There they should find that which is written: "By me kings do reign." Cyrus, king of Persie, caused a proclamation to be made throughout his empire, that the Lord God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth. Is God of less ability now to do these things, than he was? or is he of less knowledge and understanding?

Prov. viii.

Ezra i.

But to the matter again: if he do not govern the world by his providence, it is either because he cannot and he is not able, or that he will not, or that he is ignorant what is done here. But there is no ignorance with him, to whom all things be naked and manifest; and he lacketh no cunning, for he is almighty, and nothing is impossible to him; and he lacketh no will, for he is full of goodness, mercy and compassion, and promiseth plenty of all good things to the godly, and scarcity to the evil. Wherefore he ruleth all by his providence. He causeth thunder, lightning, hail, frost, snow, darkness, life and death, barrenness and fruitfulness, rain and fair weather, wind, hunger, battle, peace, and pestilence; as it is written, "Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord." God sendeth all these things, partly to admonish us of our frailness, partly to punish the ill, and partly to try the good; as I have entreated before. I put case, thou knewest not wherefore he ordained many things; as thou art ignorant why he formed thee a man, and not a woman; an Englishman, and no Italian; were that a just cause deny his providence? Were it not a like thing, as if thou shouldest deny that I would be at London at the beginning of Michaelmas term, because thou knowest not my suit? We must think Almighty God to form all things to good purposes, albeit his works surmount our capacities. When thou lookest upon a dial, which declareth how the day passeth away, thou art moved to think that it is made by art,

[Ecclus. xi. 14.]

God worketh all things to purposes.

The dial.

and not by chance. If one would carry a globe into Ireland, whose daily turnings would work the same thing in sun, the moon, and the five movable stars, which is done in heaven every day and every night; which of them would think, in that wild country, the globe to be made without singular cunning? And do we think, that God governeth the world, the which comprehendeth both the dial and the globe, and the makers of both, by luck and fortune? Are the parts governed by reason, framed by art, finished by cunning, and not the whole? Or did Archimedes by art counterfeit the movings of heaven, and God not rule the same by his providence? If God do not rule it, there is something more mightier than he, which doth it. But he is almighty, and none is able to compare with him. Towns, cities, kingdoms, empires, be governed by counsel; much more the whole. The world is called of wise men the city of all creatures. Wherefore, as Athens, Lacedemon, Venice, Rome, Paris, London, and York, have mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, and constables, to govern them after counsel, even so hath it. But who is able to be mayor or constable thereof, but the highest? Therefore it is only ruled of him.

The globe.

[Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. Lib. i. c. 25.]

Towns. Cities. Realms.

But, you will say, that city is not well governed where vice is maintained, and virtue punished; as Telamon, who denieth God's providence because good men be pained, and evil favoured. Why was Regulus tormented of the Carthaginians? Why did cruel Cinna kill so many noble men? Why did C. Marius slay the good Quint.[1] Catulus? Why did Dionysius, Pisistratus, and Phalaris, put so many to death? Diogenes Cynicus was wont to say, that Harpalus, a strong thief upon the seas, bare witness against God that he was not mindful of us, because he continued so long. Albeit this objection be partly resolved before, yet I will touch it again, that it may be plentifully confuted; taking an example of St Paul, who unto the Philippians writeth: "It grieveth me not to

An objection answered. Telamon. Regulus. Cinna. Marius. Dionysius. Diogenes.

[Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, Lib. iii. cap. 32—34.]

[1 In both editions of Hutchinson the word here printed "Quint." stands "quene." It may admit of question whether this is not the old English word "quene," in the sense of "colleague;" but more probably it is merely a misprint. The instances here cited by Hutchinson were all derived from the passage of Cicero referred to in the margin, and there we read, "cur omnium perfidiosissimus C. Marius Q. Catulum, præstantissima dignitate virum, mori jotuit jubere?"]

write one thing oftentimes, for to you it is a sure thing." If Paul, God's chosen vessel, to whom he gave no singular grace, thought it needful to write one thing oftentimes; how much more must we think the same of our small understandings and feeble brains, which be less able to paint God's secrets at one time!

When thou seest one exceeding rich, and unworthy of riches, think not him happy, condemn not God's providence, judge not all things to go by luck and fortune. Remember Lazarus and the rich glutton. The one was cruel, proud, unmerciful, unpitiful, and yet stored with all things: the other humble, meek, full of patience, full of goodness, and yet of notable poverty and sickness. He did not accuse God, deny his providence, complaining with any such words as these: "I have not greatly sinned against God, and yet I am hunger-pined, pained with cold, and punished with sickness; but this evil man liveth in wealth, pleasure, ease and health: how can it be, that God is mindful of us? how is it true, that he governeth the world?" No, truly; he took it patiently: he thought himself worthy of God's rod. Wherefore, he was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom. The rich man was condemned to hell torments. The prosperity of the evil in this life increaseth their damnation in the other; and the good have adversity in this world, that they be not damned in the world to come. There is a common saying, "The end trieth the deed." Many thieves in this life live wealthily; many advoutrers, many extortioners, many idolaters, many tenderlings, &c. Is this a sufficient cause to deny God's providence? No, truly. If at the latter day he condemn the good and crown the evil, then say that he was unmindful of us: if not, say he is a righteous God, mindful of both good and ill: for the end teacheth thee no less. If, therefore, thou have affliction in this life, deny not God's providence; but comfort thyself with the example of Lazarus, of Paul, of Christ. Think, that he punisheth sin in this life, that thou be not damned for it in the other.

Lazarus.

Luke xvi.

Why good men are afflicted.

But now I will speak of evil rulers. God suffereth evil men to reign over the people, because of their sin and abominable living: as the common saying is, *Qualis populus, talis princeps*, that is, "like people, like prince." He scourgeth them with tyrants, because they be a froward and overthwart

generation, going astray from him, and starting aside like a broken bow. The book of the Judges registereth, that God left, to scourge Israel, five lords of the Philistines, and all the Sidonites and Hevites that dwell in mount Lybanon. He stirred against them, when they sinned, Chusan-rasathaim, king of Mesopotamia, and Eglon king of the Moabies, Jabin king of Canaan; and he suffered Abimelech, a cruel tyrant, to reign over them. Wherefore was Israel so oft sold into the hands of the Egyptians, Chaldees, Assyrians, but for their wickedness? If God spared not his chosen generation, natural branches, and his own house, will he forbear the wild olives? Cinna and Marius, Dionysius and Phalaris, Pisistratus and Harpalus, were rods and scourges, wherewith he scourged the heathen for their idolatry, shameful lusts, and unthankfulness: as Chusan, Eglon, and the Philistines were unto the Israelites. If they would have forsaken their vicious living, and returned unto God, whom they knew of his works, but were unthankful, not glorifying him as God; he would have delivered them from those tyrants by good rulers and magistrates, as he delivered the Israelites from Chusan-rasathaim, king of Mesopotamia, by Othoniel, the son of Kenes; from Eglon, by Ahud; and from Jabin, king of Canaan, by Barak and Debora. Wherefore these examples do not deny God's providence; but prove us to be sinners, and declare his rightful judgments both upon the Jew and gentile. Yea, rather, they do establish and fortify his governance; teaching him to be mindful of all nations, in giving them good kings for their virtue, or cruel tyrants for their vice.

Judg. iii. Judg. iv. Judg. ix. Judg. iii. Judg. iv. Judg. v.

Diagoras, he that thought God to be unmindful of men, coming to Samothracia, a friend of his shewed him a table, wherein many were painted, which through vows had escaped shipwreck, and were come into the haven; to whom he said: But they are not painted which vowed, and nevertheless were drowned; ascribing their deliverance unto the blindness of fortune, and not unto the goodness of God. Doth Jonas so? Doth Paul so in the Acts, when he and all that were with him were in jeopardy of shipwreck? No, truly. He biddeth them be of good comfort. He taketh bread, and giveth thanks unto God, who had promised him by an angel, that an hair should not fall from the head of any of them.

Diagoras atheos. [Cicero de Nat. Deorum. Lib. iii. cap. 37.]

Acts xxvii.

It chanced another time, Diagoras sailing upon the sea, that a great flawe of wind arose. The mariners thought that God had sent them a tempest, because they had taken him into the ship; and agreed among themselves to cast him into the seas, thinking that then they would be quiet. But Diagoras desired them to look about; and shewing them other ships in no less danger, he asked them, whether Diagoras was in those other ships also: meaning, that tempests come not of God's providence, but by fortune and luck. How much wiser, and more likely, is the opinion of the noble clerk and most excellent philosopher Cleanthes, who fortifieth God's providence with four reasons! One is, because he foreseeth all things. The second, forasmuch as he giveth plenty and scarcity, cold and heat, corn, increase of cattle, and infinite other. The third, because he feareth us with thunder bolts; poureth down showers, hail, snow; causeth plagues, earthquakes, and blazing stars. The fourth, and greatest, is the constant turnings of heaven; the marvellous journeys of the sun, the moon, and the stars; the glorious fairness of them; the comely order of all things.

Cleanthes's four reasons.

[Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. c. 5.]

Who, entering into a school where he seeth all things be done in order, will not think it to be governed by some wise schoolmaster? If the school cannot keep a good order without a wise schoolmaster, much less the world, which comprehendeth all schools and schoolmasters. But who is able to be schoolmaster over all creatures, but God only? Wherefore, he ruleth them by his providence, as the schoolmaster doth his scholars. Is not that house best governed, best stored with all things necessary, which is ruled by counsel? Is not that army in better case, which hath a wise and politic captain, than that which hath a rash and foolish? The ship likewise, that hath a singular cunning master, goeth safely and assuredly. But nothing is better ruled than the world, in which the house, the army, and ship, be contained; which, of the comely order and great beauty that is in it, is called of Greeks Κόσμος, and of the Latinists *Mundus*. If we will search the holy scriptures, which bear witness of God, we shall find that he governeth the whole world; not as kings do their realms, mindful of weighty matters, and unmindful of small; but, that he is mindful both of great and small. The raven, the stork, the owl, the pelican, the kite, the sparrow,

An induction.

A house.

An army.

A ship.

the[1] little wren, the quail, the dove, the swallow, all four-footed beasts, are preserved by his providence. Did not all manner of creatures enter into the ark by couples, at his commandment, and were saved from drowning? "Doth not he purvey meat for the raven, when his young flicker about him?" Did not they, at his commandment, "bring bread and flesh to Elias beside the brook Kerith?" "Five sparrows are sold for a farthing; and yet none of them be forgotten of him." He fed his heritage with quails. He giveth pelicans, storks, kites, possession in the court of this world. He feedeth the lions' whelps in their dens, and lurking in their couches. He shut their mouths that they should not hurt his servant Daniel. Yea, he numbereth the hairs of our head, and clotheth the lilies of the field.

Gen. vii. Job xxxviii. 1 Kings xvii. Luke xii. Exod. xvi. Job xxxviii. Dan. vi. Matt. x.

I cannot here but somewhat rebuke such as curiously marketh their birth-day and birth-star; as if their life and doings were governed of necessity by the influence and moving of the stars. They teach, that there is such a pith and efficacy in the signifier circle, called of the Greeks *Zodiacos*, that every part thereof hath a several and vehement operation; the which virtue is sundry and divers through the seven moveable stars. By it they will all things to be ruled, and specially man, whose head, as they[2] say, is governed by *Aries*, the neck by *Taurus*, the shoulders by *Gemini*, and his feet by *Pisces*; which be signs in heaven, so named of the similitude of those things that they signify in earth: supposing Almighty God, as one tired with six days' labour, the seventh day to work no more. And if one be born under *Aries*, they promise him that he shall be rich and wealthy; because wethers be profitable beasts, rendering to their masters every year a good fleece[3]. If thou were born under *Taurus*, they say thou shalt be a servant, a slave, a drudge, and an underling, all thy life; for so much as this beast is yoked in ploughs and carts, and set to all drudgery. And if thou wert born under *Scorpius*, they tell thee thou shalt be a murderer, a thief, a blasphemer; because the scorpion is full of deadly poison; deducing the causes of governance in heaven of the properties of beasts in earth. This opinion hath caused much idolatry, and giving

Against fate, destiny, or the influence of the stars.

[1] The, 1550; and the, 1560.]
[2] They, 1550; the, 1560.]
[3] Fleece, 1550; flesh, 1560.]

the glory, belonging only to God, to the works of his fingers. For when men persuaded theirselves that all things were governed by stars, they worshipped the sun, the moon, and the other moveable and unmoveable stars: and thinking that riches come from them, they have not prayed unto God, of whom only all good gifts are to be desired. The first chapter[1] of Genesis witnesseth, wherefore they are formed and created: not to rule man's life violently; not to govern us, as the tyrant doth his commons; but, *Ut sint in signa, et tempora, et dies, et annos, &c.* "To be for signs, and seasons, days, and years; to shine upon the earth, and to divide light from darkness."

Gen. i.

Many would excuse their vicious living by the influences and virtue of the stars, saying that they constrain them unto sin; as the servant of Zeno the philosopher blamed his master for striking him, because, as he said, the stars compelled him to sin. If our birth-star cause us to sin, and to do that is honest, wherefore should we be blamed when we do ill, or praised when we do well; seeing it is our nature and fatal destiny to do both, and not in our power to do otherwise? Who blameth the sun, because he burneth the grass of the field, making it unwholesome for cattle? Who praiseth the water for quenching of men's thirst, or the sun for warming them? Because they cannot do otherwise, they are neither[2] praised ne blamed. And shall we be blamed, or praised, for that which is not in our power? If Christ, the lively image of the Father, praised Mary Magdalene justly for choosing the better part, for pouring a box of precious ointment upon him before his burial; if he justly reproved Peter for counselling him not to come at Jerusalem, and for using the temporal sword against the servant of the high priest's; this is an untrue doctrine, which taketh away both praise and dispraise. We read in the scripture, that God hath prepared unspeakable torments for such as break his commandments. Wherefore doth he so, if destiny compel them to sin? If thou be accused before an officer of murder, and layest for thyself that thou hast done it against thy will, if thou can prove it, thou art discharged. If the hangman of Calais put a man to death at the commandment

Luke x.
John xi.
Mark viii.
John xviii.
Mark ix.

[1] First chapter of, 1550; first of 1560.]
[2] Nother, 1550; neither, 1560.]

of an officer, he is not blamed therefore. Yea, mine enemy will forgive me, if I hurt him against my will. And will Almighty God punish us so grievously, for breaking his commandments through fate and destiny?

You justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, why presume ye to punish evil doers? If a thief come before you, he is not to be blamed, but his destiny. If an adulterer, an idolator, an extortioner, you can lay nothing to his charge, but to the stars, which cause him to be naught, will he, nill he. No man escapeth punishment by laying of destiny for him. No officer will accept[3] this answer of an evil doer. No master will allow his servant laying this for him, nor the mistress her maid, nor the schoolmaster his disciple, nor the merchantman his prentice. Whereof it is evident, that all men condemn this damnable opinion, by natural reason, in their deeds, albeit the words of some sound to the contrary.

If we think all thing to be governed by destiny, we must needs agree to the Libertines, which make no difference between good and bad, between right and wrong, between light and darkness; but defend all things to be lawful and honest, calling notable vices vocations commanded of God: if they spy a thief, they blame him not, but exhort him to continue in his vocation: they bid the bawd, the strong whore, apply their vocations: for St Paul saith, all things be lawful unto him; if unto him, to us. They ground this doctrine of the regeneration; the which, they say, is a full recoverance by Christ of that which we lost by Adam. He before his fall knew no difference between good and ill; but fell by knowledge of good and evil[4]. Now, they say, that Christ hath taken away evil; and, therefore, all that we do is good. For "he that is born of him sinneth not, because his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin. Whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither hath known him." Wherefore, they that will be the sons and children of God, must be like unto children, which neither know nor do neither good nor ill: for the kingdom of God belongeth unto such. Doth not fate and destiny teach the same? Nothing is good ne bad, except it be voluntary; nothing is to be praised or dispraised, nothing is

Libertines.

1 Cor. vi.

Gen. iii.

1 John iii.

Luke xviii.

Matt. xix.

[3] Except, 1550; accept, 1560.]
[4] Evil, 1550; ill, 1560.]

to be punished or recompensed. It taketh away all laws, statutes, acts, proclamations; for all men be born to obey them or to break them: if to obey them, they need not; if to break them, they profit not. But thou wilt answer: It is profitable that acts be put forth, that such as be disobedient escape not unpunished. O cruel destiny! which both causeth us to do evil, and punisheth us therefore. Is it not a like thing, as if a man should throw thee down headlong from the top of Paul's steeple, and, after finding thee alive, would all-to beat thee therefore? I would fain learn, whether all men and women in the time of the holy man Noe, and the host of Pharao which pursued the Israelites, had one fate and destiny. They were destroyed with one kind of punishment. I would know, whether all the Sodomits and Gomorrians were born under one planet, which all at one time, and after one fashion, were consumed with fire falling from heaven.

Gen. vii.
Exod. xiv.
Gen. xix.

The idolatrers, which worshipped the golden calf, were slain therefore. The earth opened her mouth, and swallowed Chore[1], Dathan, and Abiram, and all their adherents, for their rebellion and insurrection against Moses, their head and ruler. If all things were governed by the stars, these men should have had divers punishments, because their destinies were unlike. Who knoweth not, that there have been divers excellent in many faculties and sciences, and that many were born at the same time with them? For at all times an infinite number are born, and yet we have none like Homer, in poetry; like Samson, in strength; like Aristotle, in philosophy; like Salomon, in wisdom; like Apelles, in painting; like Euclid, in geometry; like Tully, in eloquence. Were none born under the same constellation[2] that our Saviour Christ was? It is likely, that both some of those babes which Herode murdered were born at the same time, and also divers in other regions. Stories make relation, that Anaxagoras,[3] a noble philosopher, was trussed in a football and spurned to death, at the commandment of a cruel king. If it had been

Exod. xxxii.
Num. xvi.
Matt. ii.
Anaxagoras.

[1] Swallowed Dathan, 1550; swallowed, Choree, Dathan, 1560.]

[2] Instillation, in both editions.]

[3] This should probably be Anaxarchus, instead of Anaxagoras. Vide Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. III. cap. 33. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. II. cap. 21.]

his destiny, it would have chanced as well to other born under the same star.

But you will say: If the stars do not govern us, why did such a notable star appear when Christ was born? A star governed his nativity; for the wise men say, *Vidimus enim stellam ejus in oriente*, &c. "We have seen his star in the east." Truly, that star was none of the moveable or unmoveable stars; but a new star, in a new and marvellous case, never seen before ne afterward. As we read in the chronicles of many wonders which happened, commonly before great battles and conquests, as in the time of P. Crassus and L. Scævola, milk rained from heaven; in the time of L. Domitius and C. Lælius [Cœlius], a maid was born with two heads, four hands, and four feet; and in the time of M. Antony, and P. Dolabella, there was seen a great blazing star and a trinity of[5] suns; even so at Christ's birth, which was wonderful, appeared this star: who, as touching his divinity, had no mother; and, concerning his humanity, was born without a father. The wise men which, moved by this star, came to seek after Christ, signify the wisdom of man; which in matters of religion is foolishness. Wherefore God, of his infinite mercy, opened the incarnation of his Son by this star; and therewith stirred the wise to offer unto him *aurum, thus, et myrrham*, "gold, frankincense, and myrrh." By gold, is signified that he is a king; by frankincense, that he is God; and by myrrh, that he is man. If God had not opened it unto them, they could never have known his incarnation: the which St Paul calleth *mysterium absconditum a seculis*, "a mystery hid since the world begun, and since the beginning of generations; but now it is opened to his saints, to whom God would make known the glorious riches of his goodness." For this cause the star appeared, and not to govern all the doings of our Saviour Christ violently. All things be cast under his feet, and he made the stars; therefore he is not subject to the stars. But because heavenly matters surmount our capacities, his coming into this world was declared unto the Jews by the patriarchs, prophets, shepherds, and the holy word of God, and unto the gentiles

Why a star[4] appeared at the birth of Christ.

Matt. ii.

[Cicero, de Div. 97, 98.]

Matt. ii.

Col. i.

Ps. viii.

[4] A star, 1550; stars, 1560.]
[5] A trinity of, 1550; three, 1560.]

by this star and his apostles: which star went before the wise and prudent men, till it came and stood over the place where Christ was. What wise man will impute all that Christ did afterward to this star? which, after it had brought the wise men unto him, appeared no more. Do our birth-stars cease to appear after a certain space? Do they stand over the place where we be born, or do they leave their accustomed circuit? Wherefore it is evident, that this star was ordained to preach Christ, and not for fate and destiny; to serve him, and not to force him who cannot be forced; for he worketh what he will in heaven and earth, and all the world is his workmanship. Many doubt whether this star were a true star, or an angel, or the Holy Ghost. I leave every man in this matter to his own judgment, so that his verdict disagree not with the scripture, but edify and instruct the hearer. Nevertheless, I will talk my simple phantasy therein.

Three opinions touching this star.

If it were a very star, why did he leave his accustomed progress? Or how could he be a guide unto the wise men between Bethleem and Hierusalem, being placed with the other stars in the firmament of heaven? We read, that the sun stood under Josue, and went backward under Esechias; but never of no star that left his ordained circuit, and wandered as one that loseth his way. Peradventure an angel appeared unto the wise men, in the likeness of a star; for they appear in divers likenesses and shapes. At mount Oreb an angel spake unto Moses out of a bush, in the likeness of fire; and at Galgal, to Josue the son of Nun, like a man of arms. Helias is carried up to heaven in a chariot of fire, and with horses of fire. The chariot and the horse be the angels of God; which be ministering spirits, accomplishing all his commandments. The angels appear unto Abraham and Lot like three wayfaring men. Manue and his wife saw an angel talking with them, as he had been a prophet. So it may well be, that an angel, in the similitude of a star, was a guide to the wise men. For angels are called stars in the scriptures, as in the Revelation of John, *Stellæ septem ecclesiarum angeli*, "The seven stars are the angels of the seven congregations." Other think, that this star was neither angel, nor a material star, but the Holy Spirit, which opened the incarna-

Josh. x. 2 Kings xx.

Angels appear in divers shapes.

Exod. iii.

Josh. v.

2 Kings ii.

Gen. xviii.

Judg. xiii.

Rev. i.

tion of Christ both unto the Jews and to the gentiles; but unto the Jews in the likeness of a dove, and to the gentiles in the shape and similitude of a star; of which Balaam, an astronomer, prophesied long before, *Orietur stella ex Jacob*, "There shall come a star of Jacob;" that is, a shining light of the Holy Ghost, the which shall lead the heathen to the knowledge of Christ in the likeness of a star, as he fell upon the apostles in the shape of fire. Num. xxiv. Acts ii.

This[1] much I have spoken of the star that appeared at the nativity of Christ, because many by it would prove fate and destiny. But what[2] is fate and destiny? A stedfast and immutable order of causes, whereby all things chance[3] of necessity; called in Greek εἱμαρμένη. True it is, no thing is done without a cause; but yet many things are done[4] without any necessary cause. For some causes be perfect, and some again be imperfect[5]. Fire causeth heat perfectly, and water cold. But surfeiting causeth sickness, a wound causeth death, study causeth learning, imperfectly: for a man may surfeit, be wounded, and apply his study, and yet neither be sick, needy, ne learned. If all causes were necessary, if[6] they were, yet I would deny all things to be ruled by necessity, by fate[7] and destiny; for Almighty God worketh what he will in them[8]. He appeared unto Moses out of a bush in a flame of fire, and yet the bush consumed not. He commanded the fire not to hurt Ananias, Azarias, and Misael; and saved them harmless from the hot burning oven. Did necessity, or[9] fate and destiny, make Sara and Elizabeth, which were barren and past children, fruitful? Did destiny make Aaron's rod bud, the sun to go backward, a maid to conceive, the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dead to arise? If Almighty God[10] did

What fate is.

Perfect causes.

Imperfect.

Exod. iii.

Dan. iii.

Gen. xvii. & xviii. Luke i. Num. xvii. Josh. x. Matt. i.

[1] This, 1550; thus, 1560.]
[2] What is, 1550; what, say they, is, 1560.]
[3] Chance, 1550; are done, 1560.]
[4] Are done, 1550; may seem to be done, 1560.]
[5] So 1550; some in our judgment again may seem to be, 1560.]
[6] If, 1550; but presuppose, 1560.]
[7] So 1550; by their necessity of fate, 1560.]
[8] Of his good pleasure, added in 1560.]
[9] Or, 1550; of, 1560.]
[10] God did, 1550; God then did, 1560.]

Matt. viii. & ix. all those things, he leaveth not his creatures to their own governance[1], but ruleth them at his pleasure.

Whether a man may lengthen or shorten his own life. If we be governed by destiny, our life cannot be lengthened ne shortened; for destiny is immutable[2]. Salomon witnesseth of God, that he doth lengthen the life of his, and

Prov. x. shorten the life of the wicked, saying, "The fear of the Lord maketh a long life, but the years of the ungodly shall be shortened." There be many examples of this in the bible.

2 Kings xx. The prophet Esay commandeth king Esechias to "put his household in an order, because he should die out of hand, and not live:" and yet, at his earnest request, God length-

2 Kings iv. ened his life fifteen years. [3][We read how Eliseus the prophet lengthened the years of the son of a Sunammite, a rich

Luke vii. John xi. woman, restoring him to life. Our Saviour Christ lengthened the life of the only begotten son of a widow, at the city

Acts ix. Acts xx. Naim; likewise of Jairus's daughter, [and] of Lazarus. Peter lengthened the life of Dorcas, and Paul of Eutychus. Away therefore with destiny, unless we will deny the resurrection of many. Yea, the physician lengtheneth the life of the patient, whiles he healeth his infirmity. Did not Christ lengthen the days of many, which he made whole from all disease?

But thou wilt say, I myself cannot lengthen my days.

Matt. xix. Exod. xx. If thou can honour thy father and mother, thou mayest lengthen thy life; for that causeth long life; as it is written, "Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth." If thou canst keep the command-

Prov. iii. ments of Almighty God, thou mayest increase thy days; for they prolong the days and years of thy life, and bring peace. If thou canst find wisdom, thou mayest prolong thy life; for "upon her right hand is long life, and upon her left hand is riches and honour." Thou wilt deny that we be able to do these things. [4]We be able by God, by his help and

[1] To their own governance, 1550; to be governed of causes which depend one on another, 1560.]

[2] The preceding sentence is omitted in the edition of 1560.]

[3] The passage within brackets, commencing at this place and ending at p. 87, is all omitted in the edition of 1560, and its place supplied thus: "Thus we deny that the creatures are governed by stoical destiny, either in their birth, death, or any of their actions, but only by the providence of God; as the examples of the scriptures concerning the birth of Jacob and Esau, Pharez and Zara, do witness; for—"]

grace, by privilege, not by our own strength and nature; who sent his Son unto us, to make us able to accomplish his commandments. Is it in the physician to lengthen our lives, and not in us? Thou wilt not deny but that we may shorten our time; for it is in our own power to do that is ill, which maketh short life, as David witnesseth, *Viri sanguinum et impii non dimidiabunt dies suos*, "The blood-thirsty and ungodly shall not live half their days." I ask thee, whether the ungodly may become good, and keepers of God's commandments. If they cannot, why are they punished? If they can, they can prolong their time. For the keeping of his commandments giveth long life, as is proved before sufficiently. I heard a man once move this question, whether a man might kill himself: of whom I asked, whether a man might do evil. If he might do evil, I said, he might do that. Ps. lv.

But Job saith, "The days of man be short. The number of his months are known only unto thee." If he know the number of our months, we cannot go beyond them, nor shorten them; for God is not deceived. He knew likewise that Abel would be his servant, and that Cain would be a murderer; that Paul would be a faithful minister, and that Judas Iscariot would prove a false traitor. And yet they might have been otherwise. For a vessel of gold may become a vessel of wood, a vessel of silver may become a vessel of earth, a vessel of honour may be a vessel unto dishonour. The first Adam was made a vessel unto honour, and all his offspring in him: but after he had tasted of the apple that was forbidden him, he was no longer a vessel unto honour, but the child of death, that is, a vessel of God's wrath and of dishonour; and all his posterity likewise, for they sinned in him. But the second Adam hath made us all again vessels of holiness, of sanctification; washing our sins with hyssop, that is, with his precious blood, and offering his most sweet flesh upon the altar of the cross once for all. Wherefore St Paul crieth, *Si quis emundaverit se ab istis, erit vas in honorem*, "If a man purge himself from such, that is, from sin, he shall be a vessel sanctified unto honour, meet for the Lord, and prepared unto all good works." God, I say, knew before, what Abel and Cain, what Paul and Judas, what all mankind would do; and yet they might have done otherwise; for else he could not reward the godly, nor punish the ungodly. Job xiv. 2 Tim. ii.

God's foreknowledge is no cause of things.

Even so he foreseeth the time of our life; and yet we may prolong and shorten the same. I put a case: I know that thou wilt dine to morrow in St John's college at Cambridge, and that thou wilt sup the next day at Rickmansworth; albeit I know this before, I am not the cause thereof. Even so God's foreknowledge causeth neither long life ne short, albeit nothing be unknown to him. The saying of Job, of which they gather that he hath appointed us our bounds, and that we cannot go beyond them, maketh nothing for the contrary, if it be truly taken. For without God we cannot
Acts xvii. lengthen our time; forsomuch as "we live, move, and be in him," and long life is his gift: but by his help we may,
Hezekiah. Isai. xxxviii. by whom many have prolonged their days. Ezechias by earnest prayer obtained fifteen years, but at the hand of Almighty God, who is the giver of all good gifts, and without whom we can enjoy no good thing. He would not believe that he should recover, because the Lord had spoken it that he should die straightways; wherefore God used a mar-
2 Kings xx. vellous sign to persuade him. "He brought the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone down in the dial of Achas." This sign was given, not only for him, but for as many as bear like opinion, thinking that their life cannot be shortened ne prolonged. If there be not a certain time appointed, you will ask me why our Saviour Christ saith,
John ii. John viii. John xi. "Mine hour is not yet come;" and, "There be twelve hours in the day." Christ meaneth not an hour prefixed by fate and destiny, but an hour of his own will, in which he suffered himself to be betrayed and robbed of his life; as he wit-
John x. nesseth of himself: "No man taketh it from me, but I put it away of myself. I have power to put it from me, and have power to take it again."

What thing is more contrary to God, than fate and des-
Isai. i. tiny? God saith: "If you will, you shall hearken unto me, you shall eat the fruits of the earth; but if you will not, nor hear me, the sword shall devour you: the mouth of the Lord speaketh thus." God leaveth in our power to will and to nill, to take and to forsake. But destiny saith: "Thou
Lachesis. Clotho. canst not avoid Lachesis, thou canst not disappoint Clotho, albeit thou would never so earnestly, albeit thou strive con-
Ecclus. xv. tinually." God saith: "I have set before thee fire and water, life and death; stretch thy hand to which thou wilt." But

destiny saith: "It is not in thee to stretch forth thy hand; for thou art governed, thou art led, and forced by the influence of the stars." Experience doth teach us that this is false; for destiny doth not change, and yet many things are changed. Abraham first was an idolater; but afterward, being justified by faith, he became the servant of God. Zaccheus also forsook his sinful living, and walked after the spirit. St Paul first was a cruel enemy to God's word; but after he became a chosen vessel, and an earnest preacher of the same. If these things chanced by destiny, then destiny was altered; and destiny is not destiny which is immutable. Among the ancient Romans women were forbidden to drink wine; but now they gull it in continually. Is destiny changed? Many cities banish astronomers, and punish such as teach necessity. If necessity govern all things, it causeth also this. If it do so, then destiny is against itself. We read that Crassus was called Agelastus, because he laughed but once in all his life. Junius was named Brutus, because he feigned folly for the safeguard of his life. In the time of Constantine, one Samatius feigned himself to be a fool thirty year, to be in the presence of the emperor. What rule beareth destiny, when every man did what he would? Truly, free will denieth that she hath any thing ado with man. If she govern man, why have twins unlike fortune? Procles and Eurysthenes, two kings of the Lacedemonians, were born both at one burthen, and yet they had several fortunes; for Procles was both of shorter life, and of more famous memory. If thou delight in examples of scripture,] the notable birth of Jacob and Esau doth confute destiny, and destroy the influence of the stars; for they were born both at one time, in one place, of one woman, by one man; and yet they were as unlike as fire and water, as light and darkness, as black and white. So were Pharez and Zara, two twins; also the children of Judas by his daughter Thamar. These examples declare destiny, and the influence[1] of the stars, to be but a fable. Yea, they fortify God's providence; teaching him to be a giver of divers graces, unlike fortunes, and several blessings. I grant, that an astronomer may tell, by the observation of the stars, to what occupation, to what estate of life, every man is most feat, most apt by

Abraham. Zaccheus. Paul. [Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xiv. c. 13.] Astronomers banished. Crassus. [Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. vii. c. 19.] Brutus. [Dion. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. Lib. iv. c. 68.] Samatius. Twins. Procles. Eurysthenes. Gen. xxv. Gen. xxxviii.

[1] The influence, 1550; and influence, 1560.]

nature. But that he can tell man's fortune by any of his art or cunning, I deny utterly. For our life is not ruled by the moving of the stars, but by God's providence, who worketh all things in heaven and earth.

How God is said to have rested the seventh day. Gen. ii.

How then is that true, which is written in the book of Generation, *Complevit Deus die septimo opus suum, et requievit ab universo opere, &c.* "He finished and he rested the seventh day from all his works"? God rested the seventh day from the works of creation; from forming of new creatures, but not from governing of them. Gen. ii.

The carpenter, after he hath finished the house, meddleth no more therewith. If God should do so, all creatures would perish. If man's body can live without quickening of the soul, the world may continue without his providence. For he is that to[1] the world that the soul is to the body; and more necessary to the governance of it, than the soul to the governance of the body; forasmuch as he is the maker both of soul and body. Thou must not imagine that God was weary with six days' labour, because he is said to have rested the seventh day; who made all things, and governeth them without labour, and rested without weariness. For resting signifieth ending. In the seventh day God rested from all his works: that is, he ended, he finished the creation of the world. Why then doth not the scripture say he ended all his works, but that he rested from them? Truly, not without an urgent cause. For God is said to have rested from all his works, which he made exceeding good; for because he will give us rest and quietness from our travail, if we will do all good works, as he made all things exceeding good. This phrase of speaking is used much in the scripture; as of the apostle: "We know not what to desire as we ought;" *Spiritus intercedit pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*, "but the Spirit maketh intercession mightily for us, with groanings which cannot be expressed with tongue." The Holy Ghost doth not groan, but maketh us to groan, and lament our sins; nor make intercession, but stirreth us unto prayer. Moses useth the same manner of speaking unto the Israelites, saying: "The Lord your God tempteth you, to know whether you love him." God doth not tempt his, to know any thing thereby, who knoweth all things; but to make them

Rom. viii.

Deut. xiii.

[1] That to, 1550; is to, 1560.]

to know how much they love him. He crieth unto Abraham, "Now I know that thou fearest God, in that thou hast not spared thine only son for my sake:" that is, I have made thee to know. So he is said to have rested, because he will make us to rest with him in glory, if we endeavour ourselves to follow him in goodness, who made nothing but it was good. Wherefore this resting of God doth rather establish his providence, than make against it; declaring him to be mindful of good men, and to have prepared them a resting place where they shall behold his glorious countenance evermore. For he is called in Latin *Deus*, in Greek Θεὸς, *ἀπὸ τοῦ θέειν*, which word signifieth to *run;* because he hasteth unto every place, to govern and order all creatures. Gen. xxii.

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only knoweth all things.

As we be sufficiently taught, that God is the worker of all things; so, if we search the scriptures, we shall find that he only knoweth all things, and is ignorant of nothing; as Jesus the Son of Sirach witnesseth, "The Lord knoweth all science." "The knowledge of men is imperfect, and increaseth by diligence; for the mortal and corruptible body is heavy unto the soul, and our earthly mansion keepeth down understanding; so that we cannot perfectly judge of earthly things, much less of heavenly matters." Angels have a more plentiful knowledge than we, and yet they be ignorant of many things, as of the last day and hour, which the Father knoweth only. But God knoweth all things perfectly; who is the Lord of knowledge; "whose wisdom can tell things that are past, and discern things to come." The works of all flesh are before him, and there is nothing hid from his eyes. "His wisdom knoweth the subtlety of words, and can expound dark sentences." "He seeketh out the ground of the heart, and understandeth all imagination. Wisd. xix. Ecclus. xliii. Wisd. ix. Mark xiii. 1 Kings ii. Wisd. viii. Ecclus. xlii.

No thought may escape him, neither may any word be hid from him." He called unto Adam, and said unto him, Gen. iii. *Adam, ubi es*, "where art thou?"—not because he was ignorant, but to teach him what he had lost, and to move him unto earnest repentance for his sin. After like sort he Gen. iv. asketh[1] Cain, "Where is Abel thy brother?"—not for to learn that he knew not, but for to punish and dismay him. The scripture telleth, that *penituit Deum quod hominem fecisset in terra:* "God repented that he had made man upon the earth, and sorrowed in his heart;" who repenteth also of making Saul king of the Israelites. He is said to repent, not that he is ignorant of things to come, who foresaw that Saul and all mankind would become abominable; but, when we change, and go astray from him, or return to him, and are either punished for our sin, or rewarded of his mercy. After the first sort, he repented of making mankind; of making disobedient Saul king; and of the choosing of the Jews, who once were the people of God, and now the members of antichrist. After the other sort, the heathen are become the worshippers of God, through the favourable regard of Jesus Christ; which once were the sons of wrath, and the sheep going astray. Through it, the traitor Judas lost his apostleship, and is justly damned in hell; and the thief, after great robbery, is delivered from the cross, and mercifully crowned in paradise. This change from good to ill, or from ill to good, which is done by the secret and most rightful judgments of Almighty God, in the scripture is called his repentance; and the change is in us, and not in him. David, a man according to God's heart's Psal. xxii. desire, witnesseth of him, saying: "The generation which is to come shall be told to the Lord, they shall tell his righteousness." He doth not say: The Lord shall be told to the generation; but, "the generation to the Lord." Of which words we cannot gather that anything is told God whereof he is ignorant, that he may know it; but that he is told that which he knoweth already; as the angels tell unto him our prayers and alms deeds, and as we shew God our griefs, and what we desire, in our prayers. Raphael, one of the seven angels that stand before God, saith unto Tobit xii. Toby, "I have offered thy prayer before the Lord:"

How God is said to repent. [Gen. vi. 6.] 1 Sam. xv.

Psal. xxii. [27.]

[1] Asketh, 1550; asked, 1560.]

whereby is meant, that they be ministering spirits for their sakes which shall be heirs of salvation; not, that God learneth our need by them, who knoweth what is necessary for us, before we ask it of him. Nevertheless, he willeth us to ask, that we may receive; as it is written, "Ask, and it shall be given you. Every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened."

Heb. i.
Matt. vi.
Matt. vii. Luke xi.

After this sort St Paul is to be taken, saying, *Petitiones vestræ innotescant apud Deum*, "Let your requests be known unto God." Why dost thou marvel, that God is shewed that he knoweth; seeing that men oftentimes are told of other, that which they knew before? If thou mislike this exposition, hear another. These words, "The generation to come shall be told the Lord," be as much to say as, "The Lord shall be praised in it." For, "To tell unto the Lord," is to praise, knowledge, and magnify him; as, "To live unto the Lord," "To eat unto the Lord." St Paul expoundeth "eating to the Lord," to be giving of thanks, and praising him when thou eatest, saying: "He that eateth, doth it to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks." If doing to the Lord be giving of thanks, as St Paul declareth, saying, "He doth it to the Lord, for he giveth thanks;" then of necessity, telling to the Lord is thanking of him, forasmuch as all telling is doing.

Phil. iv. Col. iv.
Rom. xiv.

We read of the Son of God, in the Revelation of John, that "He hath eyes like the flame of fire, and on his head many crowns, and a name written, that none knew but he himself." If none knew it but he himself, the Father knoweth it not: whereof followeth, that God knoweth not all things. To this I answer, because the Father and Christ be one, that the Father knoweth it, forasmuch as Christ knoweth it. Nor the text doth not exclude the Father from the knowledge thereof, saying, "None know[2] it but he himself;" for the Latin is, *Nemo scit*, that is, "No man knoweth." Moreover, this saying, "No man knoweth it, but he himself," teacheth us, that only his divinity knoweth it, not his humanity; for that is excluded by these words, "No man knoweth it." But Christ's divinity is the Father's divinity, who both are all one by nature, not

Rev. xix.
John x.

[2 Know, 1550; knoweth, 1560.]

by person: wherefore, that which Christ knoweth, the Father knoweth also. This text doth not diminish the Father's knowledge; but rather establisheth only God to know all things, saying, that only he himself knoweth this name. Where by these words, "he himself," we are compelled to understand the divinity, the nature, and majesty of God, to know it only; and Christ's humanity to be ignorant of it, which also doth not know the last day.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only forgiveth sin: our pardoning, what it is: the loosing and binding of ministers.

Isai. xliv. He is said also only to forgive sin; "who driveth away our offences like the clouds, and misdeeds as the mists." The Isai. xliii. Lord saith: "I am even he only, that for mine own self's sake do away thine offences, and forget thy sins." The unfaithful Jews acknowledge this; laying blasphemy to our Saviour Christ's charge, because he said to one sick of the Mark ii. palsy, "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee." Likewise, when he Luke vii. forgiveth many sins to Mary Magdalene in the house of Simon, because she loved much, they ask "who he is, which forgiveth sins also." The stiffnecked Jews found fault with Christ in forgiving of sins, because they believed not him to be God; to whom that only belongeth, and to no creature. "For who can forgive sins, but God only?" They should rather have gathered him to be very God, than a blasphemer; forasmuch as he proveth this to belong unto him upon the earth, restoring strength and health unto the sick man, to carry his bed home, whence he was brought of four Mary Magdalene. men. When he saith of Mary Magdalene washing his feet with tears, and wiping them with her hairs, *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum*, "Many sins are forgiven her, because she loved much," we may not think that love causeth remission of sins, but that remission of sins causeth love. For that our love followeth, and goeth not

before, Christ declareth in the same place, saying, "He that hath much forgiven, loveth more; and to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less." Doth not Christ here manifestly teach, that God's forgiving engendereth in us much love, or little? If we examine the circumstance of the place, and ponder it diligently, we shall find it to be no otherwise. Simon, who bade Christ unto his house, is offended that Mary Magdalene touched Christ; and marvelleth that he will suffer a miss-woman to be so homely with him, as to wash his feet and anoint them. Christ therefore said unto him, "Many sins are forgiven her, because she loveth much: to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less." As if he should say: "Simon, thou art offended, that I let a sinful woman touch me. Be no more offended. She is no longer a sinful woman; for I have forgiven her many sins; and because many sins are forgiven her, she loveth much. 'For he, to whom much is forgiven, loveth more.' Wherefore marvel not that I let an honest woman, which hath her sins forgiven her, and therefore loveth me greatly, touch me: marvel not that I let a penitent woman wash my feet, wipe them with her hairs, and anoint the same." God's remission goeth before our love.

I would the clergy and laity would wash Christ. What is that? Truly, to be penitent for their ill living, to mourn, to weep, to lament their covetousness and greedy ambition, their pluralities of personages, non-residences, farming of benefices, tot-quots, negligence in their vocations, and absence from their cures. *Væ mihi, quia tacui:* "Woe be unto me for holding my peace." All men and women, yea kings, queens, lords, and ladies, follow good Mary Magdalene in this point; and cry not, call not unto her, "Pray for us, pray for us." But the devil is crafty. He maketh us omit to follow the saints, for which their lives were written; and persuadeth us by his ministers, which be heretics, to pray unto saints, which cannot help us. This is the true meaning of these words; not that her love went before, to deserve, or to be a cause of, remission of sins; but that she might honestly wash Christ, whom she loved much for her sins pardoned. The parable of two debtors declareth this to be true; by which Christ proveth unto Simon the great love that she bare unto him. For if the debtor, to whom the creditor forgiveth five hundred ducats, loveth him better To wash Christ.

than he to whom he forgiveth but fifty; then Mary loved Christ heartily, who blotted out all her sins. Do not the debtors love the creditor because of his liberality? Even so, Mary was not forgiven through the merit of her love; but she loved, because she was forgiven. Christ witnesseth, that the creditor forgave his debtors, when they had nothing to pay. What is this, but that Almighty God pardoneth our sins, not for any crumb of love in us, but of his tender and gracious favour? For we are the debtors, and he is the liberal creditor.

But how shall we answer the phrase of scripture which saith, that "many sins were forgiven her, because she loved much?" Do we not use to say, Summer is nigh, because the trees blossom? And yet the blossoming of the trees doth not cause summer, but summer causeth them. So winter causeth cold, and not cold winter: and yet we complain of winter, because it is so cold. So we say, the tree is good, because the fruit is good. But Christ, teaching his disciples to pray, willeth them to ask pardon of God as they pardon other. For if we forgive other men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will also forgive us. Wherefore it is not a thing belonging only to God. Man is said to forgive his neighbour; not by pardoning the everlasting punishment, which is the reward of all sin, and is pardoned neither of thy neighbour, ne yet of priest, but of God alone; but by refraining his anger, by pacifying himself, by assuaging his fury. St Paul sheweth what our forgiving is, saying: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." "He that seeketh vengeance," saith the preacher, "shall find vengeance of the Lord." To seek vengeance is not to forgive thy neighbour. But this vengeance is nothing but a displeasure in this life: wherefore, to forgive is to seek no vengeance in this life. We have nothing ado with the other life. After this sort Christ commandeth the Jews, when they offer any gift at the altar, if they be out with their brethren, first to labour a reconciliation; and then to offer. After this sort St Peter is charged to forgive his brother, sinning against him, not only seven times, but seventy times seven times. This commandment belongeth also unto us; for St Peter asketh Christ in the name of the congregation. God only forgiveth the punishment which is prepared for the devil and

Matt. vi. How we do forgive one another. Rom. vi.

Eph. iv.

Ecclus. xxviii.

Matt. v.

Matt. xviii.

his angels, and for ill-living men; as he only crowneth such as he forgiveth. Of whom is it spoken, but of God only, "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again"? 1 Sam. ii.

God's remission goeth before our pardoning.

Some also reason of this place in the Lord's prayer, that we must forgive first, and then ask forgiveness of God; perverting the true meaning thereof. Christ, teaching us to pray for pardon of our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us, meaneth not, that by forgiving we merit or deserve remission of our misdeeds, for we be all debtors unto God, some of five hundred pence, and some of fifty, and have nothing to pay. No: rather he certifieth our weak faith by these words, and biddeth us to be as[1] well assured that God forgiveth us, as we be sure that we forgive other; making our pardoning a sign, a token, that God pardoneth us, and not a cause thereof. For except God forgive us first, and pour the dew of his blessing upon us, our nature will not forgive, but revenge and punish. The example of the servant which ought his master ten thousand talents, who was first forgiven the whole debt, and after imprisoned because he forgave not his fellow, maketh nothing against this interpretation. For he was first released and pardoned; but afterward, when he would not pardon his fellow, he became a debtor unto God again, and was thrown into prison. For when thou sayest, "Forgive me, as I forgive them that trespass against me," thou makest a promise to God, if he be merciful to thee, to be merciful unto thy brother. The which thing if thou do, ascertain thyself, that God hath melted thy sins, as the fire doth the wax; and let thy doing be a token unto thy conscience, that thou art in his favour. This is the cause why Christ taught his to pray thus; not that our remission deserveth any thing at God's hand, who giveth us all things through Christ, in whose name whatsoever we ask, we shall have it. He that asketh forgiveness of God, and cannot enforce his heart to forgive his brother, let him think that he hath asked, but not received, because he asked amiss; and that he rather kindleth God's wrath and indignation against him, than pacify it.

For he deserveth forgiveness, as he forgiveth. If he

[1] Be as well, 1550; be well, 1560.]

cannot find in his heart to forgive his fellow, but layeth hand on him, and taketh him by the throat, and casteth him into prison, let him think that God will deliver him likewise unto the jailer for breaking his promise, till payment be made. For sin is called debt in scripture, because a punishment is due for it. For this cause we are commanded to ask forgiveness, as we forgive; that it may be a seal unto us, a token, and a certificate, of God's mercy and favour, or of his displeasure and anger. This I have spoken, partly constrained by my matter, and partly, because Stephen Winchester straineth this place for the justification of works.

How ministers do forgive and retain sin.

As every private man forgiveth his brother, so much more the ministers of God's word have power to do the same, for to them belongeth forgiving and retaining, binding and loosing

Matt. xvi.

of the whole congregation. To them Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven. How then doth God only forgive sin? Truly, they are only ministers of the forgiveness, and preachers of his mercy, or of his wrath. Their forgiving and loosing is to declare the sweet and comfortable promises that are made through Jesus Christ in God's book to such as be penitent; and their binding and retaining is to preach the

Rom. iv.

law, which causeth anger to such as be impenitent. Or, their loosing is to declare before the congregation, that God forgiveth the believing; and their binding is to shew, that God will not pardon the unbelieving, because they are without purpose to amend and reform their livings. The common sort suppose, that God forgiveth them, as soon as the minister layeth his hands upon their heads, although they return to their old living. Be not deceived. Except thou repent, he hath no authority to forgive thee; for he is a minister of forgive-

Who is forgiven, and when.[1]

ness only to such as repent and will amend. His commission stretcheth no further. If thou, from the bottom of thy heart, be sorry for thy trespass, if thou be without all desire to sin, if thou earnestly mind to amend, God forgiveth thee before thou come at the minister; who first

Matt. viii. Luke v.

cleansed the man from leprosy, and after commanded him to shew him to the priest, for a witness to the congregation. So he raised Lazarus first, and afterward bade his disciples

John xi.

loose his grave-bonds. As the priest of the old law made

[1] This is not in the Edition of 1550.]

the lepers clean or unclean; so bindeth and unbindeth, forgiveth and retaineth, curseth and blesseth, the ministers of the new law. They put the name of God upon the people, Num. vi. but he only doth bless them: they minister the sacrament of forgiveness, but he only doth forgive; as St Paul fortifieth unto the Corinthians, saying: "Neither is he that planteth 1 Cor. iii. any thing, neither he that watereth; but God which giveth the increase." As an ambassador maketh peace with a strange king, to whom he is sent with a message, but they which bear witness of the peace make it not; no more do they forgive sin, but be witnesses thereof, that God par- Acts i. Acts ii. doneth them through the ambassage of Jesus Christ, who is our high ambassador. Wherefore Paul calleth the preaching of the glad tidings of the gospel, ministration of the 2 Cor. iii. spirit and righteousness; and he nameth the preaching of the law, ministration of death and damnation: by which two he meaneth nothing else but loosing and binding; as he teacheth us, binding and loosing him that held his father's 1 Cor. v. wife.

The Anabaptists and Donatists teach, that evil ministers Against the Anabaptists. John ix. cannot loose, because God saith that he heareth no sinners. I grant, that God heareth not their prayers. Yet the sin of the minister doth not disannul the sweet promises, which are made to such as repent and believe Christ. Be he good or bad, God performeth the words spoken of him, not presuming beyond his commission. Doth God's mercy depend of the goodness of the minister? Then our faith cannot be stedfast and sure, but wavering and uncertain; forasmuch as no man can discern who is a good minister; for he that seemeth good may be an hypocrite. The scribes and Pharisees were evil ministers; and yet were we commanded to believe them, "whatsoever they say, sitting in Moses' Matt. xxiii. seat;" that is, 'as long as they teach Moses, and not their own inventions.' Sacraments be seals. Doth not the seal make like print, whether it be of gold, silver, or iron? If it seal deeper or shallower, that which is sealed is cause thereof, not the stuff. So the difference is in them which come to the minister, and not in the ministration of good or evil, which both make one print; for ministration is a seal. Why doth Paul rebuke the Corinthians, because one 1 Cor. iii. said he held of Paul, another said he was of Apollo, but

because they thought the virtue of the sacraments to hang of the worthiness of the minister? If their worthiness or unworthiness make the sacraments effectual or not, then, of two good, the more worthy maketh them more effectual: and it were better to be christened of John, than of Thomas of Ind; better to be sent of Cephas, than of Timothe; better to receive the communion at Paul's hand, than of Apollo. But their ministration differeth not. And we are forbidden to rejoice in men; for "neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth." Wherefore all hangeth of God, who giveth the increase, who only forgiveth sin; and not of the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister.

What the key is. Matt. xvi.

The key, which Christ promised unto Peter, saying, *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum*, "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," (who answered in that behalf of all, as all were asked,) is God's holy word, wherewith the minister bindeth and unbindeth us, as the key doth shut and open the door. The papists expound the keys to signify a general authority and supremity, granted unto Peter above the other apostles and all kings; the which now they give to their great sire of Rome, as to the only successor of Peter. To these I answer, that Christ gave none of his apostles further authority than he had himself. For when he sendeth them, he saith: "As my father sent me, so I send you." Wherefore was he sent? "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister" unto other. The people would have made him their king and head, but he refused it. He paid tribute to Cæsar at Capernaum. He was a minister of circumcision many years. He saith unto him which desired part of his brother's inheritance, "Who made me a judge or divider over you?" Wherefore the keys be no temporal authority. Hath the disciple a further authority than his master? Or is the servant above his lord? Christ commandeth Peter to pay tribute unto Cæsar; to put up his sword: who, in the Acts, sendeth not other, but he himself is sent of the apostles, to lay hands upon them in Samaria which believed through the preaching of Philip; and he is asked account afterward, why he went and eat with the uncircumcised. He appointeth no man in the room of Judas, but all the apostles chose two indifferently, and cast lots, beseeching God to temper them, that the lot

Against Peter's supremacy.

John xx.
Matt. xx.
John vi.
Matt. xvii.
Rom. xv.
Luke xii.
Matt. x.
Matt. xvii.
Acts viii.
Acts xi.
Acts i.

might fall on the most ablest. Wherefore he was not head of apostles, kings, and emperors, but a fellow minister; as he witnesseth of himself, saying, "I exhort the ministers among you, which am their fellow minister." 1 Pet. v.

Albertus Pighius[1], the bishop of Rome's chief knight in his controversy of the congregation, perverteth the scriptures to prove that Christ, at his departing, made him head of the church and general shepherd of his flock. First, touching the keys, he saith that the civil lawyers with the keys give possession of house, borough, town, and city. As, for an example, king Henry the eighth, of most famous memory, was made lord of Bulloin, when they delivered the keys thereof to his majesty. Moreover, Christ commonly calleth his church *regnum*, "a kingdom or monarchy." 'If it be a kingdom,' saith Pighius, 'one must be head thereof, not many: for that is a kingdom, where one governeth. If one must be head, who is that but he and his successors, that had the keys of the kingdom given him?' These be reasons of deceitful vanity, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ; of which St Paul warneth the Colossians to take Matt. iii. iv. x. Luke x. Col. ii.

[1 Et tibi, inquit, dabo claves regni cœlorum. Quod regnum cœlorum hoc loco intelligat ecclesiam suam, indubitatum est, ut quam bis decies in evangelio regnum cœlorum appellat. Porro in clavium traditione, ex more civili, traditur domus, castri, aut civitatis gubernandæ authoritas: et qui vel ecclesiæ alicujus, vel domus, castri, civitatis, possessione et gubernandi eandem authoritate investiuntur, ut hoc cum clavium traditione acceptioneque fiat, etiam in hodiernum diem usus retinet. Hoc est ergo, quod illis verbis Christus sub omnium apostolorum præsentia significavit, uni Petro se traditurum authoritatem gubernandi suum regnum aut ecclesiam; quam ubique regnum dicens, etiam hoc innuit, variis officiorum magistratuumque ordinibus ad unum rectorem necessario ordinatam eandem esse oportere, quod perficiendum suis apostolis reliquit. Has claves, hanc authoritatem, quam hic promisit, gubernandi regnum suum et ecclesiam, post resurrectionem suam, jamjam ascensurus ad patrem, tunc dedit Petro, cum eidem terna, ut diximus, commissione ejusdem curam mandavit et regimen. Quæ autem hujus ipsius authoritatis esset energia et efficacia, consequenter explicare pergens, Quodcunque, inquit, in hoc regno meo super terram ligaveris præceptionum tuarum vinculis, hoc ipsum ita alligatum habebitur a Deo et in cœlis; et quodcunque solveris, solutum. Nihil distinguit, nihil excipit omnium; sed quodcunque illud fuerit, quod Petro, aut qui ejus inter nos gerit officium et locum tenet, videbitur ligare aut constituere, ad hoc ipsum obligatos nos ille affirmat coram Deo. Pighius, Controvers. Præcipuar. Explicatio, fol. 98 b. Edit. Paris. 1549.]

heed. Among lawyers, possession and dominions is given by the key. But we must learn what the key is, of him that gave it, and not of lawyers; who telleth us what the key is,

Luke xi. saying, "Woe be to you lawyers; for ye have taken away that key of knowledge." Where no man can deny, but that by the key of knowledge God's word is meant and signified; which is the only key given to the apostles. This is the key wherewith the ministers are commanded to loose and to bind, to forgive and retain[1], to bless and to curse. The bishop of Rome, loosing and justifying men through traditions and ceremonies, and not with the key of God's word, hath not Peter's key, but a picklock; of which he boasteth himself to be head of the church. This key is the two testaments, which Christ commanded his apostles to preach to all nations. And because there be two testaments, he call-

Matt. xiii. eth them 'keys.' "For every scribe of this kingdom bringeth forth of his treasure things both new and old." New things; that is, the sweet tidings of the gospel, to unbind us: and old things; that is, the old testament and Moses' law, to bind us. And every minister hath this key, as well as Peter.

If Peter be head of the church because it is a kingdom, and scriptures are to be expounded after the law and ordinances of the world, then Peter's son should have been head after his father; or, if he had no son, the next of his kindred, not the pope: for in all kingdoms the son, or the next of the kindred, is heir to the crown. But neither Peter, nor the pope, be heads thereof, nor no other upon the earth; but the everlasting Jesus Christ, who needeth no heir, who hath

Matt. xxviii. promised to be present with his congregation unto the world's end; who nameth his congregation a kingdom, not that he made Peter lord over us, or the pope, but because he is Lord, and we have promised obedience unto him. Peter calleth him

1 Pet. v. Matt. xvi. our chief shepherd, and forbiddeth priests to be lords over the parishes. The pope saith, that Peter is the rock upon which the congregation is founded; and then he will be Peter's heir, because Peter was once at Rome. But the scriptures, which are the true touchstone to examine all in-

Who is the rock. terpretations by, teach us that Christ is the rock, and not Peter, when he saith unto Christ, "Thou art the Son of the living God," and is answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon

[1] And retain, 1550; and to retain, 1560.]

this rock I will build my congregation." These words, "upon this rock," are not to be understand of Peter, who was so inconstant that he denied his master thrice, but of Christ, who is the Son of the living God: as St Paul teacheth us, saying, *Petra autem erat Christus*, that is, "Christ was the rock;" 1 Cor. x. whom in another place he calleth our foundation, and saith, "No man can lay another foundation." If no man can lay 1 Cor. iii. another foundation, then Peter is not the foundation. The scriptures use to liken Christ and the congregation to a bridegroom and his wife: for he is called the bridegroom, and the church is called his spouse. Wherefore St Paul maketh Eph. v. matrimony a high mystery. The husband appointeth no other to be head over his wife, but he only is her head; for else she should be under two heads. No more doth Christ over the congregation; to which he is only husband, and a jealous husband. If Peter be general head, and the pope after him, the congregation is married to many husbands, and hath many heads, contrary to the order of honourable wedlock.

Christ only is the door, the way, the truth, and the life; John x. John xiv. the true vine. So he only is the rock and foundation, in whom John xv. every building coupled together groweth up to an holy tem- Eph. ii. ple in the Lord: as St Peter witnesseth, calling him a living 1 Pet. ii. and head corner-stone, disallowed of men, but chosen of God; refused of the builders, and upholding the building that it fall not flat upon the ground. In the same place Peter calleth Christ the rock, and not himself; if you look for the self same word. But the papists reply, that we all, as living 1 Pet. ii. stones, are made a spiritual house by Christ. Why then, say they, may not Peter be the stone whom Christ named John i. Cephas; which is, by interpretation, a stone? This text granteth other to be the stone, as well as Peter: for it is generally spoken of all christian men. If thou be not a stone, thou hast no fellowship with Christ. He named Peter *Cephas*, that is, "a stone," because when he believed him to Why Peter was named Cephas, a stone. be Messias, he became a stone of the congregation: as he gave *Boanerges* to name, which is, "The sons of thunder," to James and John; not that they were to be thundered and preached, but that they should be earnest preachers of God's word. Andrew bringeth him to Christ, in whom he believed through his preaching. Christ welcomed him with

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most sweet words, saying: "Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas; thou shalt be called *Cephas*, which is, by interpretation, a stone." What meaneth Christ by these words but this? "Simon, before thou wast the son of Jonas," that is, "the son of death, as thy father[1] was; thou shalt no more be so, but a stone of my congregation, for which I am come to suffer, because thou believest in me." This is Christ's meaning; not that Peter is the stone whereon we be builded, but a stone of the building, a sheep which is lost and recovered again, a member of his congregation. Christ only is the stone whereon the building is founded. We are small stones of the building founded on him. He only is the rock, which saveth his church from rain, floods, and the winds, from hell gates, from sin and death; as he teacheth us, saying, "He
Matt. vii. that heareth my word, and doth thereafter, is like a man that buildeth[2] on a rock." Some may understand this text otherwise; that Christ called Peter a stone, not that he only is that, but in the behalf of the whole congregation.

Why Christ biddeth Peter thrice, "Feed my sheep." John xxi.

If Peter were not head of the church, why doth Christ ask him thrice, *Petre, amas me?* 'whether he loved him?' and command him only thrice to feed his sheep? Lo, saith the Romanists, here is he made head of the church: here Christ, going to his Father, committeth the congregation to his governance. This place doth not establish Peter's supremacy, but rather deny it; forasmuch as Christ giveth him no commandment, no authority, but such as belongeth to all the apostles; bidding him shew his love in feeding his flock, and preaching him: for no man will preach him whom he loveth not. Doth not he give like com-
Mark xvi. mandment to all the apostles, saying, "Go and preach throughout all the world, and to all creatures?" Then why doth he ask Peter only thrice, and command him thrice, and not the other? He asked him thrice, because he denied him thrice; that his three nays might be recom-
Augustine. pensed with three confessions. St Augustine saith[3] upon

[1 Father, 1550; fathers, 1560.]

[2 Buildeth, 1550; builded, 1560.]

[3 Sed prius Dominus quod sciebat interrogat, nec semel, sed iterum ac tertio, utrum Petrus eum diligat; nec aliud totiens audit a Petro, quam se diligi; nec aliud totiens commendat Petro, quam suas oves pasci. Redditur negationi trinæ trina confessio, ne minus amori lingua

this place, "Three confessions are required for three nays; that the tongue might do as much for love, as it had done for fear." And Cyril[4] saith the same. They expound it thus; not for Peter's primacy. Cyril.

But I will speak this more plainly. Christ did ask and command Peter thrice, for two causes: the one was, that by his confession the rest of the apostles should know that he was restored into favour again, from which he had fallen: the other is, that all men might learn by Peter, what thing is most necessary in a preacher; which is, that he love him entirely and heartily whom he preacheth. Paul, speaking of ministers, saith, "It is required of them that they be found faithful:" but who is faithful to him whom

What is most necessary in a preacher.

1 Cor. iv.

serviat quam timori, et plus vocis elicuisse videatur mors imminens, quam vita præsens. Sit amoris officium, pascere Dominicum gregem; si fuit timoris indicium, negare pastorem. Qui hoc animo pascunt oves Christi, ut suas velint esse, non Christi, se convincuntur amare, non Christum; vel gloriandi, vel dominandi, vel adquirendi cupiditate, non obediendi et subveniendi et Deo placendi caritate. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Tract. cxxiii. Opera III. 817. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[4 Οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε (χρῆναι γὰρ ὄντως φημὶ καὶ τὴν κεκρυμμένην ἐν τούτοις διερευνῆσαι διάνοιαν) οὐκ εἰκῇ γεγράφθαι καὶ ταῦτα, ὠδίνει δέ τι πάλιν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὁ νοῦς ἔχει τι πάντως τὸ ἐνδομυχοῦν. Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐρεῖ τις εὐλόγως, μόνον ἐρωτᾷ τὸν Σίμωνα, καίτοι τῶν ἄλλων παρεστώτων μαθητῶν, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν; τί δ' ἂν βούλοιτο δηλοῦν τὸ "Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου," καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀδελφά; Φαμὲν οὖν, ὅτι κεχειροτόνητο μὲν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀποστολὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑτέροις μαθηταῖς ὁ θεσπέσιος Πέτρος. Αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασε κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πραχθῆναι συμβέβηκε τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλῆς, καί τι μεταξὺ διεπταίσθη, καὶ γέγονεν, (ἀκράτῳ γὰρ δείματι καταληφθεὶς ὁ θεσπέσιος Πέτρος ἠρνήσατο τρὶς τὸν Κύριον,) θεραπεύει τὸ πεπονθὸς, καὶ ἀνταπαιτεῖ ποικίλως τὴν εἰς τρίτον ὁμολογίαν, ἀντίσταθμον ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο τιθεὶς, καὶ ἀντίρροπον τοῖς πταίσμασιν ἐξαρτύων τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν. Τὸ γὰρ λόγῳ διαπταισθὲν καὶ ἐν ψιλοῖς ἔχον ῥήμασι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὸν ἴσον δοίη τις ἂν ἀπολύεσθαι τρόπον.——Οὐκοῦν διὰ μὲν τῆς εἰς τρίτον ὁμολογίας τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τὸ ἐν τριπλῷ γεγονὸς εἰς ἀπάρνησιν κατηγήθη πλημμέλημα. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ φάναι τὸν Κύριον, "Βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου," ἀνανέωσις ὥσπέρ τις τῆς ἤδη δοθείσης ἀποστολῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖται, τὸν μεταξὺ λύουσα τῶν πταισμάτων ὀνειδισμὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας μικροψυχίαν ἐξαφανίζουσα. Cyril. Comment. in Joan. Evang. Lib. XII. Opera IV. 1118. Edit. Paris. 1638.]

he loveth not? Moreover, diligence is required in a preacher,
2 Tim. iv. as St Paul teacheth his beloved son Timothe: "Preach thou the word; be fervent, be it in season or out of season; improve, control, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine." What thing causeth diligence, so much as love? Through love, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, all things are made easy and sweet unto us, which before
1 Cor. xiii. were both hard and unpleasant. For "love suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." There is a common saying, that nothing is hard to him which loveth. Love maketh labour, travail, and pain, light and sweet to the hunter, yea, in snow and foul weather, in cold and frost, at all seasons. But they which love not the pastime, neither will ne can abide such pains, as to run through thick and thin, to leap hedges and ditches, &c. Through love, Christ was sent of his Father, and humbled himself to our nature, and was whipped, scorned,
Rom. v. wounded, and slain, for our sins; as it is written: "God setteth forth his love towards us, forasmuch as while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." These things were sweet and
Acts v. pleasant unto Christ. Through love, the apostles rejoice that
2 Cor. xi. they are beaten, in the Acts. Through love, St Paul "was beaten with rods, was often in hunger, in watching, in thirst, in labour, in cold, in nakedness; often in perils of robbery, in perils of wilderness, in perils of the sea, in perils of false brethren." Through love, many holy men have been burnt
Heb. xi. for the truth, racked, stoned, hewn in sunder, slain with swords, hunger-pined, and drowned. Fire and water is not more necessary for the preservation of this terrenal life, than love in a preacher; which is the mother of faithfulness, of diligence, of patience, and of all virtue. We read in Matthew, how Christ, before he sent his disciples to preach, examined
Matt. xvi. them what they thought of him, saying, "Whom say ye that I am?"—not that he was ignorant thereof, from whom nothing is hidden; but to give an example to our bishops to
1 Tim. v. "lay hands suddenly upon no man," and to try their doctrine, to examine their learnings; for learning also is a quality most necessary in a preacher. So in this place he examineth Peter whether he love him, because love is so necessary.

I would wish that our magistrates, and the overseers of Israel, would set this example of our Saviour Christ before

their eyes, and diligently follow it. The captain going to battle mustereth, gathering many together; and chooseth out the most ablest to serve his prince. What merchantman will take any to be his prentice, unless he have certain qualities necessary for his occupation? Colligeners in their elections pose their scholars, assay their wits, try their learnings, ask of their [1] conditions, before they choose them. If bishops applied their vocations as diligently as other do their occupations, the heritage of the Lord should be in much better case: his vineyard should not be rooted up and destroyed with beasts of the field: the hill of Sion would wax green and beautiful. The noble orator, Demosthenes, was wont to say, that he was greatly ashamed of his small study, when he considered the great pains which artificers took at Athens to get money; and that he was moved to more earnest study thereby. Have not the overseers of the house of Israel much more cause to be abashed for their great negligence? They follow not the noble captain, which mustereth before he goeth to war, and chooseth out tall and able men; but they send all that come, and refuse none. They esteem preaching often and diligently, to be against their honour and dignity. They allure learned men from their cures, and make them stewards of their lands. They give them benefice upon benefice, but they will not suffer them to come at their parishes, to preach, to exhort, to instruct. And this practice is customable, not only in them, but in the most part of great men and women. For commonly they take beneficed men to be their chaplains, and cause them to lie from their benefices: the which when they have done a good while in their service, then they give them another benefice for their pains, and then cause them to lie from two benefices, and after from three, and then from four; and to put holy-water-swingers in their rooms and cures. I speak not this against all lords and bishops; but against unpreaching prelates and covetous lords, which find their chaplains at the costs of poor parishes, and not of their own lands. Well, the blood of all souls that perish for lack of instruction, my lords, shall fall on your heads. Beware, and amend betimes. Give your chaplains sufficient wages, and pill not poor parishes. I accuse no man. Every man's conscience, at the last day, before the bar of the

Bishops.

Demosthenes. [Cicero. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 19.]

[1] Ask of their, 1550; ask their, 1560.]

terrible judge, shall either deliver and quit, or condemn and cast him.

But Pighius[1] replieth further for Peter's supremity, because Christ sheweth him that Sathan desired to sift all the apostles, and biddeth him strengthen them, saying,

Luke xxii. "Simon, Simon, behold, Sathan hath desired to sift you, as it were wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." Before trouble Christ useth to give his disciples warning, that they be not dismayed, mated, or discouraged, but armed

Matt. xvi. with patience: as in telling them that he must go to Jerusalem, and be slain of the high priests and lawyers; in shewing them the destruction of Salomon's temple, and tokens of the latter days. And wherefore he shewed them, he teacheth,

Matt. xxiv. saying: "But see that ye be not troubled, and take heed; I have told you before." In the mount Olivet he sheweth[2] them, that all they shall be offended by him the night fol-

[1] Ad hæc, divinæ assistentiæ singularem prærogativam et indefectibilis fidei privilegium, regni Christi aut ecclesiæ pastori prorsus necessarium, ... idem ille nobis commendavit, et de eadem securos reddidit, cum de prælatura contendentibus apostolis, post pleraque multa, quibus carnalem adhuc ambitionem eorum benigne repressit, uni Simoni commune fratrum et totius ecclesiæ periculum, ut ejus pastori et rectori, enuncians, adjungit rogasse pro eodem, ne ejus fides deficeret, ut cujus esset fratres confirmare in fide. Simon, inquit, ecce Satanas expetivit vos, ut cribraret, sicut triticum. Non dicit te, sed vos: confratres ejus, universamque ecclesiam, una significans. Quid tum denique? Ego autem rogavi, inquit, pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua. Omnes expetitos a Satana uni Petro denunciavit singulariter; et illi, et aliis, præsentibus et posteris, significans, omnium curam ad ipsum præcipue pertinere. Proinde et pro uno ipso, velut omnium pastore, singulariter rogavit, ne ejus fides deficeret. Et exauditus pro sua reverentia, uni ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ præsidi, ad formam et modum, quem etiam in veteri synagoga expresserat, impetravit indefectibilis fidei privilegium. Subjungens proinde, cujus esset, in subortis ejusmodi hæretici turbinis fluctibus ac agitationibus, confirmare fluctuantes fratres in fide. Et tu, inquit, aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos. Omnia hæc in illud tempus retulit, cum post Domini sui (quam hic adhuc futuram subinnuebat) abnegationem, post conversionem rursus ad eundem, ab eodem jamjam ascensuro ad cœlum commissionem accepit pascendi regendique gregis sui; ut in eadem et inclusa et data intelligantur universa, quamvis ante explicata, quæcunque ad hoc ipsum erant necessaria. Pighius, Controversiar. Præcipuar. Explicatio, fol. 99 b, Edit. Paris. 1549.]

[2] Sheweth, 1550; shewed, 1560.]

lowing, as it was written, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad." That which was said to them all in mount Olivet is spoken now severally unto Peter; because he had more need of warning than the rest, because he offended more, because he trusted much in himself. Therefore Christ saith: "Simon, Simon, behold, Sathan hath desired to sift you; but I have prayed for thee." The meaning of which words is: 'The devil shall busily tempt you all at the time of my passion; and specially thee, Peter, more than the rest. He shall not prevail; for I have prayed for thee. Trust not in thine own strength, but in my prayer. Unless I had prayed, thou shouldest have been the son of damnation, and not have repented.' For it is written, "The Lord turned back, and looked upon Peter; and then he went out, and wept bitterly." He denied him once, and wept not; for the Lord had not looked upon him. He denied him again, and wept not; for Christ did not yet look upon him. When he denied him the third time, Christ's look moved him to lament his offence with abundant tears.

Matt. xxvi. Zech. xiii.

Luke xxii.

How Christ looked upon Peter; corporally or spiritually.

But there riseth a question, whether Christ looked upon him with corporal eyes, and admonished him visibly, or not. If we read the gospel diligently, we shall find that Christ was in a chamber within, and many about him which spat in his face, and buffeted him with their fists; and that the apostle Peter was without in the hall, sometime sitting, sometime standing at the fire with the servants; as all the evangelists agree. Wherefore Christ did not look on him with corporal eyes, but as he looked upon the low degree of his handmaid: that is to say, he did help him with his mercy secretly; he touched his heart; he visited him with his inward grace, which caused him to pour forth outward tears. He biddeth him strengthen his brethren, when he is converted; not as head of them, but as a labourer in his vineyard: for these words, "Strengthen thy brethren," be as much to say as, 'Feed my sheep, preach the glad tidings of the gospel, which strengtheneth the sick soul;' as it is written, "Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of God." David witnesseth, and experience teacheth us, that bread comforteth and strengtheneth the heart of man: and yet, "the life is

Luke i.

Matt. iv.

Psal. civ.

Matt. vi.

more worth than bread, and the body more of value than any meat." Wherefore, these words give no authority to him above the rest of the apostles; but rather be a narration of his fall through presumption, and of his rising again only by Christ.

If Peter were head of the church, yet that doth not stablish the pope's supremity; unless he can shew Peter's last will and lawful testament, wherein this is given him. I have spoken this of the primacy; partly because the papists, with subtle and crafty reasoning, and wrong leavening of the scriptures, allure the consciences of many into this damnable opinion; partly also being occasioned of my matter: for he hath presumed, many years, to forgive the sins of such as would give him money to loose and to bless them; and to curse, and hold the sins of them which were against his mind.

2 Thess. ii. According to St Paul's prophesying, "He shall sit in the temple of God, and shew himself as God." What is, to "sit in the temple of God, and boast himself as God," but to reign in the consciences of men, and to take upon him that which belongeth only to God?

Now, to make a brief rehearsal of this matter, there be four things necessary to be known concerning remission of sins. Who forgiveth the sin? wherefore, or for whom? by whom? to whom? The scripture answereth these four questions. We learn who forgiveth sin of it, saying:

Mark ii. "Who can forgive sin, but God only?" And for whom we are pardoned our misdeeds, St Paul teacheth us,

Heb. i. writing to his countrymen of Christ: "For this cause is he mediator of the new testament; that through death, which chanced for redemption of those transgressions that were in the first testament, they which were called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance." And to the

Rom. viii. Romans: "He which spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how will he not with him give us all things also?" If God give us all things for Christ's sake, we have remission of our sins also by him. By whom God

John xx. forgiveth, Christ telleth us, saying, "Whose sins ye forgive, shall be forgiven; and whose ye hold, shall be holden:" which words be spoken to ministers. Sometime he doth forgive without the certificate of the minister; for he is not bound to his sacraments, but worketh what he will, and

how he will. Paul, after he had heard Christ speak, was sent to a minister; yet he was lightened from above, before Ananias, who laid hands on him, knew thereof. The thief which hung on the right hand, was straight carried into paradise, without any ceremony of ministration; which God hath ordained for our infirmities, not that it is a necessary mean unto him. Now he promiseth forgiveness to all those which repent, and intend to lead a new conversation, and to make their bodies a lively, holy, and acceptable sacrifice unto him; as the coming of John the christener, before our Saviour Christ, teacheth us; who began his preaching at repentance, saying, "Repent; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He baptized many in Bethabara beyond Jordan; but they confessed their sins first. He reviled the Pharisees and Sadducees, and bade them do fruits worthy repentance. Christ also, when it was told him that Herod had laid hands on John, coming to the coasts of Zabulon and Nepthalem, began with the same: and not only that, but he commandeth his apostles to begin with it, when he doth authorise them to preach. He sendeth by and by after them other seventy, to preach the same. I would our magistrates were as diligent in sending forth preachers. But they have no leisure to muse of the commonwealth, they are so greedy of private wealth. In the Acts many, being pricked in their hearts through Peter's preaching, ask him and the other apostles, what they should do to achieve and get remission of their sins: and Peter answereth them, saying, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for remission of sins." Of which texts and examples it is evident, that God doth not forgive our sins, pardon our trespasses, and wipe out our misdeeds and offences, unless we have an earnest purpose and fervent mind to crucify our old man, and to become new dough and sweet bread, albeit the minister lay hands on us an hundred times: for he regardeth the heart, not the ceremony of ministration, searching the bottom and ground of it, and trying the reins; rewarding every man according to the fruit of his counsels.

Acts ix.
Luke xxiii.
Luke iii.
Mark i.
Mark vi. Matt. x. Luke ix. Luke x.
Acts ii.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

God only is Almighty: and whether he can sin, die, or lie: with other mo properties.

THE next property belonging to the majesty of the godhead is, that he is almighty, and can do what him list in heaven and earth; as the book of Wisdom telleth us: "Unto thy almighty hand, that made the world of nought," or as other translate, "of a confused heap, it was not impossible to send among them a heap of bears, or wood lions, or cruel beasts of a strange kind, such as are unknown, spouting fire, or casting out[1] a smoking breath, and shooting horrible sparks out of their eyes; which might not only destroy them with hurting, but also kill them with their horrible looking. Like as the small thing that the balance weigheth, so is the world before him; yea, as a drop of the morning dew, that falleth down upon the earth: for he hath power of all things." The glorious and famous deliverance of Israel shew his hand to be almighty, his arm to be strong and infinite: who raised up Pharao for this only purpose, to shew his might on him; and that his name, which is his power and righteousness, might be declared throughout all the world. He punished the ungodly, that would not know him, with strange waters, hails, rains, frogs, lice, flies, murrain, sores, grasshoppers, thick darkness. He drowned Pharao in the Red Sea, and led his people through the middle thereof. He fed them with angels' food, and sent them bread from heaven. He took away the heritage of kings, and gave it them. We read, that the angel answered the holy virgin Mary, asking how she could conceive sithen she knew no man, that "the power of the Highest should overshadow her," and that by the same power "her cousin Elizabeth should have a son in her age; for with God can nothing be impossible." Christ saith: "It is easier for a great camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven:" notwithstanding, many rich men have en-

Wisd. xi.
Exod. ix. Rom. ix. Wisd. xvi. Exod. vii. Exod. viii. ix. Exod. x. xiv. Exod. xvi. Wisd. xvi.
Luke i.
Mark x.

[1] Casting out a, 1550; casting out of a, 1560.]

tered thither, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, king David, the patient man Job, in the old testament; and Matthew, Zaccheus, and Joseph of Arimathie, in the new. We may gather, then, that God can easily cause a mighty camel to go through the eye of a fine needle: wherefore all things be possible to him; as Jesus teacheth his disciples, that with men to be impossible, but not with God; for with him all things are possible.

Whether God can sin or lie, or not.

Some deny him to be almighty; for he cannot sin, he cannot lie, he cannot be deceived, he cannot die. Yea rather, he is almighty, because these things have no stroke in him; which be infirmities, not powers, and include a certain weakness and feebleness, and no omnipotency. If he could either sin, or die, or be deluded and lie, he were not almighty; for he that sinneth becometh the servant of sin. "Remember ye not," saith Paul, "that to whomsoever ye commit yourselves as servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?" Christ also answereth the Jews, denying that they were bond, but Abraham's seed: "Verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin." St Augustine, a noble member of the christian congregation, saith: *Magna Dei potentia est non posse mentiri*[2], "It is a great power of God, that he cannot lie." The same may be said of deceiving, of all sin, of dying; the which cannot be in God, because he is almighty.

Rom. vi.

John viii.

Other reply, that we can do many things which the Deity cannot; as walk, speak, eat and drink. To which I answer, that albeit God, by himself, do not these things, yet he worketh them all in his creatures: for he maketh them to walk,

[2 These words have not been found; but similar passages are of frequent occurrence in the works of St Augustine; as, in *De Civ. Dei*, Lib. XXII. cap. 25. Si volunt invenire quod omnipotens non potest, habent prorsus, ego dicam: mentiri non potest. Op. VII. 693. And *In traditione Symboli*, Serm. 2. Omnipotens...non potest mori, non potest peccare, non potest mentiri, non potest falli. Tanta non potest: quæ si posset, non esset omnipotens. Op. V. 939. And in his sermon *ad Catechumenos, de Symbolo*, cap. 1. Deus omnipotens est; et cum sit omnipotens, mori non potest, falli non potest, mentiri non potest; et, quod ait apostolus, 'negare se ipsum non potest.' Quam multa non potest, et omnipotens est: et ideo omnipotens est, quia ista non potest. Op. VI. 547.]

speak, eat and drink. If he should do these things in his own nature, he should be like unto man, and so not almighty. Christ telleth a man whose son was vexed with a dumb
Mark ix. spirit, that all things are possible to him that believeth; much more, all things are possible unto God. But thou wilt say, If I believe, nothing is impossible unto me: then, only God is not almighty. Nothing is impossible unto believers, notwithstanding they be not almighty, because they can do nothing of themselves, which is an infirmity, and no almightiness; but live, move, and be, in him. St Paul, in his letter unto the
Phil. iv. Philippians, saith, that he can both cast down himself and exceed, be hungry and suffer need; yea, that he can do all things; but through the help of Christ, which strengtheneth
John xv. him, without whom we can do nothing. Wherefore Christ is almighty; and therefore God, by nature, not by nuncupation only.

Heb. vi. We read, in Paul to the Hebrews, *Impossibile est eos qui semel, &c.* that "it is impossible that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, &c., if they fall, should be renewed again unto repentance, crucifying
Against the Anabaptists. unto themselves again the Son of God, and making a mock of him." If this be impossible, where is God's almighty hand and omnipotent arm? 'Impossible,' in this text, is not to be taken for that which cannot be or come to pass; but for that which seldom and very hardly is done. For Paul speaketh the very same thing again straightway in a similitude, that "the earth, which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs convenient for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that the ground, which beareth thorns and briars, is reproved, and nigh unto cursing." The barren ground here, which resembleth man, with thorns and thistles resembling sin, is not already accursed, but rebuked, and nigh unto cursing: so the man which falleth after he is lightened, is not without all possibility of amendment, but in great peril of damnation. For as the barren ground, bearing thorns and thistles, may become fruitful; so such one may be renewed, and rise again. Methink Paul by this similitude, which immediately doth follow, sheweth what he meaneth by this word 'impossible.' Weigh the similitude, and the purpose why it is brought,

and I think you will not refuse this interpretation. The disciples use the same word, in effect, unto Christ, asking him who can be saved; which is as much to say as, 'It is impossible for any to be saved.' But he answereth them, that "with men it is impossible, but not with God:" teaching us, Mark x. that rich men have hard access unto heaven. And for these words, "with men it is impossible," before he saith, "Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches Luke xviii. to enter into the kingdom of God!" Wherefore it is not Impossible for hard. against the phrase of the scripture, to call that impossible, which is hard and seldom.

The Novatians, Anabaptists, and Catharoi, abuse this place, to prove, that all such as do fall after baptism cannot rise again, but are damned and not recoverable. I trust my exposition do more accord to the truth, than this damnable assertion, against which I think it necessary somewhat to speak; for I have heard say, that there be many of this opinion in England, and partly I do believe it. After the triumphant deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt, God ordained two manner of offerings among them: one, for sins done of ignorance; another, for tres- Levit. v. passes done willingly: promising forgiveness unto both. If Levit. vi. some Anabaptist say, that these were not done after baptism, for the Israelites lacked baptism, Paul answered him, saying, "Brethren, I would not ye should be ignorant of 1 Cor. x. this, how our fathers were all under a cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized under Moses in the cloud and in the sea, &c." Wherefore after baptism God forgiveth sin, done both of ignorance and also willingly. If he say, that under the law such might be restored, but not under grace; I would know of him, whether the mercy of God be augmented or diminished through the coming of our Saviour Christ. Epiphanius, an ancient writer and of famous memory, telleth that one Meletius, an arch heretic, spread this opinion over a great part of Egypt and Syria, and prevailed against Peter, bishop of Alexandria; who was slain afterward of the cruel tyrant Maximin. But thanks be to God, there be innumerable examples which notably confute and vanish it; and among all, none more worthy than one in the history of St John, the beloved apostle. Eusebius, in his third book and twenty-third chapter,

Epiphanius. [Contra Hæreses, lib. ii. cap. 68. Opera. Basil. 1560, ii. 321.]

Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 23. [p. 113. Edit. Cantab. 1720.] writeth of him, that he turned marvellously a certain young man from stealing unto Christ, which had fallen from Christ to stealing. In the old testament, the patriarchs conspire the death of Joseph, and rise again; Reuben defileth his father's bed; Judas committeth fornication; Moses displeaseth God at the waters of strife; David falleth into advoutery; Manasses into idolatry. In the new, Peter denieth his master thrice; the Galatians follow another gospel, and are recovered by Paul; Peter exhorteth Simon Magus unto amendment; Paul desireth the Corinthians to receive him again whom he had excommunicate; Christ biddeth us forgive our brethren seventy times seven times; the angels in heaven rejoice at the conversion of a sinner. These examples and authorities be very plain against the blasphemy of the Novatians and Anabaptists, which would bring men unto desperation and infidelity.

Gen. xxxvii. Gen. xxxv. Gen. xxxviii. Num. xxvii. 2 Sam. xi. 2 Kings xxi. Luke xxii. Acts viii. 2 Cor. ii. Matt. xviii. Luke xv.

If they, cleaving to this word 'impossible,' refuse to take it for 'that which is hard,' as it doth signify often in the scriptures; yet this place maketh nothing for their desperate opinion, but rather destroyeth and vanquisheth it; as the circumstance of it declareth. For Paul denieth, that he which is baptized can be re-christened; so that these words, "It is impossible that they should be renewed again," be the same in effect which he hath in another place, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." And that it is so, and no otherwise, I will prove with three manifest reasons. One is, because, as the words immediately before do teach, he speaketh there of doctrine pertaining to the beginning of a christian man; as "the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, and of the doctrine of baptism, of laying on of hands, of resurrection and judgment;" and mounteth afterward unto perfection; that is, toucheth Christ's everlasting priesthood, his death, and the disannulling of the law. By which words he teacheth us, that he speaketh not of repentance alone; but of the whole foundation of a christian man; which is baptism, and those things which he doth annex unto baptism. For in the primitive church, as this place and other sheweth, men first were moved unto repentance; then unto faith in Christ; then sealed with the sacrament of baptism; then confirmed with laying on of hands; and last of all, certified of the resurrection and general judgment: and

Another interpretation.

Eph. iv.

The first reason.

that all at the time of their christening. Now, after that he hath declared this manner of christening, and beginning of a christian man, this form and fashion of the primitive church, he saith incontinent, that "it is impossible for such, as fall after this lightening, to be renewed again unto repentance." Who doth not see, considering what goeth before and why these words be brought in, that he speaketh of the whole order and form of baptism; and denieth that this form and fashion can be iterate? My next reason is, that he must needs mean so, because the text doth not say, that it is impossible for such to repent; but *rursus renovari*, "to be renewed unto repentance;" requiring a renewing with the repentance. What is "to be renewed" then? "To be born again;" the which is done only by baptism. We may repent without baptism, before and after; but renewed unto repentance we cannot be, without this noble sacrament. Wherefore St Paul, in this place, forbiddeth all iteration of baptism, not of repentance. Thirdly, it appeareth to be so also of these words: *Rursum crucifigentes sibimetipsis Filium Dei*, "Crucifying unto themselves again the Son of God, and making a mock of him." For all such as will be christened more than once, crucify Christ again in a figure, and scorn his death, as insufficient to take away their sins. For baptism is a figure of it; as St Paul witnesseth, saying, "Remember ye not, that all we, which be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, are baptized to die with Christ?" Wherefore, as Christ died but once, making full satisfaction for sins, so baptism is but once to be ministered. But they deny this also. If any man would know the use of the primitive church in this point, Eusebius[1] registereth, that

The second reason.

The third.

Rom. vi.

Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 14.

[1] Tempore quo apud Alexandriam Petri martyris diem Alexander episcopus agebat, cum post expleta solennia conventuros ad convivium suum clericos expectaret in loco mari vicino, videt eminus puerorum supra oram maris ludum, imitantium, ut fieri solet, episcopum, atque ea quæ in ecclesiis geri mos est. Sed cum intentius diutine pueros inspectaret, videt ab his geri quædam etiam secretiora et mystica. Perturbatus illico, vocari ad se clericos jubet, atque eis quid eminus ipse videret, ostendit. Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Cumque adessent, quis eis ludus, et quid egissent, vel quomodo, percunctatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidi, negare primo, deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius

Athanasius. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, calling a council of learned men, enacted, that all those which Athanasius christened in the way of pastime, being chosen bishop by a company of lads, and being but a boy himself, ought not to be re-

Acts xix. christened. The Anabaptists allege the ninth[1] of the Acts, where it is written, that Paul, finding certain disciples at Ephesus which had not received the Holy Ghost, baptized them again in the name of the Lord Jesu. Paul's baptizing in this place is nothing but giving the Holy Ghost by laying on of hands, as the text expoundeth itself. For first, Paul is said to baptize them in the name of Christ, and then these words, according to the use of scriptures, be expounded with them which follow: that is, Paul laid hands upon them, and the Holy Ghost came on them. If thou think, that baptism cannot be taken for giving of the Holy Ghost, hearken what John the Baptist saith of our Saviour

Matt. iii. Christ and himself: "I baptize you in water, in token of repentance; but he that cometh after me, shall baptize you

John iv. with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Christ never baptized any with water; and yet the scripture saith he baptized, because he gave the Holy Ghost. In this signification, Paul baptized them again in the name of Jesus Christ, without all iteration of the sacrament. Melancthon[2] taketh this

puerilis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, simul et ab eo qui interrogaverat, ubi videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare, conlocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisse traditur, illis, quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerat infusa, iterari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea quæ a sacerdotibus mos est. Athanasium vero, atque eos quos ludus ille vel presbyteros habere visus fuerat vel ministros, convocatis parentibus, sub Dei obtestatione tradit ecclesiæ suæ nutriendos. Parvo autem tempore, cum a Notario integre, et a Grammatico sufficienter Athanasius fuisset instructus, continuo tanquam fidele Domini commendatum, a parentibus restituitur sacerdoti, ac velut Samuel quidam in templo Domini nutritur, et ab eo pergente ad patres in senectute bona, ad portandum post se ephod sacerdotale deligitur. Autores Hist. Eccl. Ed. Basil. 1535. p. 230. This passage was not written by Eusebius, but by Ruffinus, the translator and continuator of Eusebius's history.]

[1] This is *ninth*, instead of *nineteenth*, in both Editions.]

[2] Sed Novatiani duos locos ex Epistola ad Hebræos objiciunt. Hebr. 6. 'Impossibile est eos, qui semel illuminati sunt, revocari ad pœnitentiam, &c.' Quamlibet durus videtur hic locus, tamen si conscientia communita

place unto the Hebrews, which the late Novatians would wrest to maintain their opinion, to be of the sin against the Holy Ghost; out of which no man can rise, for it is never forgiven. Thou hast now, gentle reader, two interpretations of the terrible saying of St Paul: follow that which thou judgest to be most true.

But to return to our matter: many deny God's omnipotency, because he cannot revoke that which is past. The Greek poet saith,

Μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται,
Ἀγενητὰ ποιεῖν, ὅσσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα.

"The power of God doth fail in nought, save this;
To make undone, that thing that once done is."

Yes, truly, God can do this, if he will; albeit we judge contrary of his infinite might and power: but it shall never come so to pass; because it is to be supposed, that God never will that thing to be undone, which he hath once done: for he worketh all things; and that without repentance. If he would that thing to be undone which is gone and past, or that word to be unspoken which is spoken, repentance should take place in him. Yet can he do it; albeit it be impossible unto our understanding. The infirmity is in us, which cannot comprehend such a power, such a majesty, not in him. Through like infirmity the heathen supposed there were many gods, because it seemed to them impossible for

est veris testimoniis supra citatis, non potest hoc loco perturbari. Sed postquam ex superioribus testimoniis certo constat, lapsis non negandam esse veniam, facile judicari potest, non posse hic retineri τὸ ῥητὸν, sed addendam esse commodam interpretationem. Alii aliter mitigant hunc locum, ut fit in obscuris et ambiguis; Græcè non sonat usque adeo incommode. Ait enim: Non est possibile renovari eos qui Christum crucifigunt, et ludibrio habent. Hoc simplicissime intelligo in hanc sententiam. Tales non possunt renovari, qui non auscultant amplius evangelio, sed contemnunt, nec illa initia pietatis, de quibus dixit, retinere student, scilicet baptismi et pœnitentiæ doctrinam. Hæc est, ut mihi quidem videtur, germana ejus loci sententia, et nihil habet incommodi: tantisper non possunt renovari, dum non auscultant evangelio, sed crucifigunt Christum, et ludibrio habent. Fatendum est etiam esse aliquod irremissibile peccatum, quia id expresse affirmat Christus. Ad id accommodetur et hic locus Epistolæ ad Hebræos. Melancthon, De Pœnitentia, Opera i. 245. Edit. Witeberg. 1601.]

one to rule and govern all things. Therefore they divided the governance of the world between three; giving heaven and earth to Jupiter, the seas to Neptune, the low places and hell to Pluto. They craved plenty of corn of Ceres, riches of Plutus, wine of Bacchus, luck in hunting of Diana, good fortune in wooing of Venus and Cupido, learning and utterance of Mercury, and victory in battle of Minerva and Mars. Through like infirmity the papists brought in pilgrimages, dedications, prayings to saints; thinking God either not so able, or else not so willing and merciful, to hear our requests and accomplish them. Some, because they will rather deny his omnipotency than confess their own infirmity, say, that he is called omnipotent, because he can do whatsoever he will, and not all things. I had rather acknowledge my infirmity, than diminish his omnipotency.

THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER.

God is defined out of his scriptures.

Heb. vi. Deut. v. Prov. xviii. Rom. viii. Phil. ii. Heb. xiii. 1 John i. 1 John iv. Deut. vi. Deut. x. Matt. iv.

THERE be many other things also, belonging only unto the Deity, mentioned in the scripture; as, "I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, the house of bondage and slavery;" and, "The name of the Lord is a strong castle: the righteous flieth unto it and shall be saved;" and, "It is God that justifieth." "God worketh in us both the will and the deed;" "God is a consuming fire;" "God is light;" "God is charity;" "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;" "When I call upon the Lord, he heareth me." For nothing is to be honoured, called upon; nothing heareth our prayers; nothing is charity, light, consuming fire; nothing justifieth and saveth the righteous, save God only. The scripture doth attribute these properties to no manner of creature.

Hitherto, leaving all superfluous questions which have rather curiosity than profit, I have applied my kind of

writing to the capacities of the congregation, of which the most part be lay; and declared what God is, out of his most sacred and holy word; which is the only way leading us to the knowledge of him, the only light illumining our darkness, the only "fire and hammer that breaketh the hard stone;" that is, vanquisheth ill doctrine, and confoundeth all heresies. They which seek him without it, not content with "the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, nor with the doctrine of godliness," go out of their way, walk in darkness, overwhelm themselves with reasons of man's wisdom, learn always and never can get the knowledge of him, waste their brains about "unprofitable questions and strife of words; whereof spring envy, railings, evil surmisings, vain disputations of men with corrupt minds and destitute of the truth." Wherefore as the child, before he is born into the world, abideth in his mother's womb and taketh all nourishment of her; so we must learn what God is within the bounds of his word, not at rovers; until he mercifully deliver us from this bondage, and out of the dungeon of the body, and grant us to behold him face to face. Now, gathering a sum of my sayings, I will define what God is: not that any perfect definition can be made of him, for he is unsearchable; but for the capacities of the laity, for whose sakes I write this, that they may behold him in a glass and a shadow, who cannot be seen in this life perfectly.

A hammer. Jer. xxiii.

1 Tim. vi.

2 Tim. ii.

The child.

God is a spiritual and pure substance or nature; immutable, invisible, unsearchable; filling heaven and earth; full of understanding, of truth and righteousness, of mercy, of wisdom, of all manner of goodness; without beginning, without ending; not create, not made, and maker of all things; subject to nothing, and governing all things; knowing all things, yea, even the inward thoughts, intents, and hearts of men; forgiving sin; only to be honoured, called upon; only hearing, justifying, and saving us; of an almighty arm and majesty; the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeding from them both. I have declared before all these things to be attributed unto God in his holy word. And the scripture doth not only not deny, but eftsoons grant the same, all and every one, unto Jesus Christ our Saviour, and to the Holy Ghost our Comforter: as it shall appear more evidently hereafter. Where-

upon it must needs follow, that both Christ is God, and the almighty Comforter also, by nature, and not by name only; as they of whom it is written, *Ego dixi, Dii estis*; "I have spoken, You are gods."

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

In what order he will write of a person.

Now, seeing that I have shewed what God is, according to the talent of my knowledge, I think it convenient unto my matter to declare, what this word *person* signifieth in this place; forasmuch as the signification thereof is referred to diverse things. And because many heretics do mistake, and wrongly expound this word, in the glorious and blessed Trinity, as they know which have read ancient chronicles of times past; I will first shew what a person is not, the which is easier; and with the same, that there be three persons in the superglorious Deity. For we must learn weighty and hard matters by foreknowledge of easy things. This done, I will shew what the word *person* doth signify in the Godhead: then I will apply the definition thereof to Christ; and then I will refer the same to the Holy Comforter. I will prove Christ to be a substance, and I will fortify the Holy Spirit to be a substance; and Christ to be unconfounded, and the Holy Spirit to be unconfounded. Finally, I will portray and paint the three persons, that is, the Trinity, by corporal similitudes; whose nature in itself is ineffable and unsearchable. And albeit these things be profound and high mysteries, and as hard as they be necessary, and unknown, and never yet disclosed in our mother's tongue; yet I will so shape and order my oration and speech after such a homely and perceivable fashion, as shall be most meet and agreeing to the capacity of those that be simple.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER.

A person is not a difference of vocation and office: and that the fathers of the old testament worshipped a Trinity.

Against the Patripassians.

THE Patripassians and Sabellians, and after them Photinus[1], and of late Servetus,[2] define a person to be a certain condition and difference of office: as when we say, Roscius sometime sustained the person of Achilles, and sometime of Ulysses; or, that a king and a prophet be divers persons. For as one man may represent the person of Achilles and Ulysses, and nothing letteth but one man may be a king and a prophet, as David was; so they say, that the Father is the Son, and the Holy Spirit also, and that they be not three several persons. The story of Christ's christening Matt. iii. banisheth this opinion; where we see a notable difference of the three persons. The Father soundeth these words, "This is my beloved Son:" the Son is seen standing in Jordan: the Holy Ghost lighteth upon him in the likeness of a dove. If the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be three names and one thing, as of this heretical definition of a person it

[1 Οὐκοῦν πρῶτος Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς παρήχθω. Τί οὖν οὗτός φησιν; ὅτι τὸ πατὴρ, καὶ υἱὸς, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ὀνόματά ἐστι ψιλὰ καθ' ἑνὸς προσώπου κείμενα. Μαρκίων δὲ ὁ Ποντικός φησιν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντα συστησάμενος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς, οὐδὲ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις δίκαιος, καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἀνέλαβεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ υἱός. Μάρκελλος δὲ καὶ Φωτεινὸς καὶ Σωφρόνιος τὸν λόγον ἐνέργειαν εἶναί φασι, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν ταύτην ἐνοικῆσαι τῷ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, οὐκ οὐσίαν ἐνυπόστατον. Chrysostom. In Epist. ad Philipp. Homil. VI. Opera XI. 234. Ed. Paris. 1718—1738.]

[2 Scripturis item ea est de persona loquendi ratio, ut una res dicatur gerere personam alterius; ad quem modum socii Job, sumpta Dei persona, quasi ipsi essent Dii, volebant loqui et judicare. Angelus in persona Dei tota lege loquitur. Pseudoapostoli in persona apostolorum loquebantur. Satanas in persona boni angeli loquitur, cum se transfigurat in angelum lucis. Sapientia ipsa, angelus, David, et alii prophetæ in persona Christi sæpe loquuntur. Ad hunc modum, Verbum illud in persona Christi olim fuisse Filium dicimus, et Christum hunc olim in persona Verbi apud Patrem fuisse. De Trinit. Divina, lib. iii. p. 92.]

must needs follow; then the Father both soundeth the foresaid words, was baptized of John in the famous river of Jordan, and appeared also in the likeness of a dove. But this doctrine is contrary to the truth of the gospel. Wherefore, a person is not a difference of office. Furthermore, the
Matt. xxviii. apostles are commanded to christen in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. If the Father be all three, he is named thrice, and so it is *tautologia otiosa*, "a foolish and vain repetition." And this of St Paul likewise:
Rom. i. 2 Cor. i. Phil. i. Col. i. "Grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ;" who useth this manner of salutation in all his epistles: the which is vain and superfluous, if we credit this damnable opinion. Hearken what he saith
1 Cor. viii. in another place: "Unto us there is but one God, which is
Of whom. the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him;
By whom. and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." Doth not he teach us here, that there be two persons, one of the Father, the other of the Son, not confounded together; and that these two persons be but one God? Christ saith:
John vii. "My doctrine is not mine, but my Father's which sent me." Wherefore he and his Father be several persons, and not
Isaac. Gen. xxii. one thing. Isaac was a figure of Christ. For as Abraham, at the commandment of God, led him unto his death; so
Christ. Christ was sent of God, to be slain for our sins. And
Sampson. Sampson likewise, and many others. But Abraham, Isaac, Manoad, Sampson, were several persons: wherefore the Father and Christ be not all one thing.

But I will speak of all the three persons of the glorious Trinity: and forsomuch as many hold opinion, that they of the old testament neither worshipped ne knew any Trinity, but honoured only an unity, and sought no further; I will first begin with the testimonies of the old testament; that it may appear that this doctrine was preached from the creation of the world. The beginning of the book of Generation teach-
Gen. i. eth us, that there be three several persons, saying: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." Where evidently, by the name of 'God,' the Father, and by 'the beginning,' his Son, by whom he made all things, are to be understand.
John viii. For who is 'the beginning,' but Christ, who answereth the Jews, asking what he was, "I am the beginning, which
Psal. xl. spake unto you;" and in whose behalf David speaketh, "In

the beginning of the book it is written of me?" After these words of the Father and the Son, it followeth immediately, "The Spirit of God was borne upon the waters:" the which is the third person in the glorious Trinity. Some take the Spirit here for the wind blowing upon the waters. If they examine the text diligently, they shall find that wind was yet unmade; and that the waters there do not signify that which we call water commonly, but the confused heap of which God formed all things. If God were not a Trinity, he would not have said, "Let us make man to our similitude, and after our likeness." For these words 'let us,' 'our similitude,' 'our likeness,' cannot be spoken of one person. Neither they, which are spoken after the miserable captivity and fall of Adam, "The Lord God said, Lo, Adam is become as one of us, in knowledge of good and evil."

Heb. x.

Gen. i.

But here thou wilt say: These phrases do not prove[1] many persons. For doth not the king use to say[2], 'We will that this or that be done;' and yet he is but one? Kings and emperors use to say so, because they have counsellors commonly, whose prudent advices they follow. But of God it is written, *Quis cognovit mentem Domini, aut quis illi fuit a consiliis*, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who is his counsellor?" And therefore, he doth not say so for like consideration, but because that, as Pythagoras saith, he is *ternarius numerus*, 'the third number;' which containeth all other numbers, both unity, evens, and odds. Esayas teacheth us the same, where he saith, that he saw the seraphins flacker from above, and cry each one to other, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of hosts." By this word 'Holy' thrice repeated we are taught that there be three persons; and by the words following, 'the Lord of hosts' not iterate, that there is but one Lord.

An objection answered.

Pythagoras.

Isai. vi.

I will prove the same by the properties of the three persons. The congregation confesseth the Father to be unbegotten; and no heretic can deny it. And the scripture telleth us, that the Son is begotten; to whom the Father saith, "Thou art my Son, this day I begat thee." Not that the Father is elder than Christ; for as he was always a Father, so he was never without a Son, but begat him

Unbegotten.

Begotten. Psal. ii.

[1] Do not prove, 1550; prove not, 1560.]
[2] King use to say, 1550; king say, 1560.]

Psal. cx. without time: "Also of my womb, before the morning star, begat I thee[1]." God the Father hath no womb, or corporal form: but by his womb we must understand his substance; as if he said, 'Of my substance, of my own nature, I begat thee.' If God the Father begat Christ of his own substance, which is immutable, how could of the same substance his mutable flesh be made, as our late Anabaptists defend? God begat God, and light begat light; as a man getteth a man, and a dog getteth a dog; for a man cannot get a dog. The Holy Ghost is neither called unbegotten, nor gotten. For if we call him unbegotten, we bring in two Fathers; if we Proceeding. name him gotten[2], we make two Christs. He is said to proceed equally from the Father and from the Son; as he is equally God, and equally almighty, to be honoured equally, and everywhere equally.

Scripture proving the proceeding of the Holy Spirit. Peradventure some will require proof out of scripture, of the proceeding of the Holy Comforter; because we say, that nothing is to be believed upon pain of damnation, which is not in the scriptures. For many do allege this procession of the Holy Spirit for unwritten verities: therefore I say, I will prove it by certain testimonies; albeit I will not deny but that many things be true verities, which be not in the scriptures: as it is true that I wrote this book, and not written; it is true that king Edward the sixth, (God save his noble grace!) is king of England, and unwritten. But Unwritten verities. mark, good christian people. When we disallow unwritten verities, we except such, and do speak only of such things as be needful and necessary for the saving of our souls. All such things, we say, be written in God's book. For John saith, "These are written, that ye might believe, and have eternal life." If we observe these things, we shall have eternal life; and what can we desire more? All such necessary points be written. Away therefore with unwritten verities.

"But how prove ye the procession of the Holy Spirit by scripture?" That he proceedeth from the Father, Christ John xv. teacheth his disciples, saying: "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, he shall bear witness of me." That he proceedeth also of Christ,

[1 Ps. cx. 3. Sept. ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.]
[2 Gotten, 1550; begotten, 1560.]

these St Paul's words be a sufficient record: "If there be any man that hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his." For he cannot be Christ's Spirit, not proceeding of him. He is the virtue, which went out of him, and healed the people of Jerusalem, of Tyre, and of Sidon. Further, our Saviour Christ, after his victorious and glorious resurrection, to teach us that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from him equally as he doth from the Father, breathed on his disciples, and said, "Receive the Holy Ghost;" and, "Lo, I send the promise of my Father upon you." Rom. viii. Luke vi. John xx. Luke xxiv.

If therefore the Father be unbegotten; the Son begotten, not made; the Holy Comforter proceeding; there be three persons not confounded together. The Father is a spirit, and the Son likewise; and the Father is holy, and the Son likewise; but neither of both is the Holy Spirit, the Holy Ghost. He is an unspeakable communion of the Father and Son also: therefore these two words be truly verified severally of them both, but not together. If the Holy Ghost be the Father, he sendeth himself; that is, he proceedeth from himself. If he be the Son, he is the Son of the Father, and of Christ also: for every son is the son of twain, of the father and of the mother. But God forbid that we should imagine any such kind of thing in the Father and Christ. If he be neither of both, he is a several person. No earthly man is able to discuss this nativity of Christ, and procession of the Holy Ghost, after what manner both be done; for both be unspeakable, as it is written, "Who can declare his generation?" Of the Holy Comforter it may be said also: 'Who can declare his proceeding?' Wherefore we must eschew curious talking of these mysteries; and stedfastly believe, because of the scriptures. Christ saith: "The Father is greater than I." If he be greater, either they be two several persons, or else the Father is greater than himself. David witnesseth, that the Father setteth Christ on his right hand: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." And that he sitteth there, we learn of St Paul, who exhorteth us to "seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God." Then, either they be two persons, or else the Father speaketh to himself, and sitteth on his own right hand. The Father heareth, and Christ Isai. liii. John xiv. Psal. cx. Col. iii. John xi.

John xii. John xvii. John xiv. John vii. prayeth; he blesseth, and Christ giveth thanks; he commandeth, and Christ obeyed; he teacheth, and Christ learneth: for Christ recordeth this of himself, "As my Father taught me, so I speak." These properties learn us, that they be two persons unconfounded, forsomuch as we cannot apply or refer them to one person.

Abraham's vision. Gen. xviii. The vision which appeared to Abraham in the oak grove of Mambre, declareth unto us a manifest distinction of the godhead, and yet not a trinity of Gods. For he saw three men, and yet he called them Lord, not lords. If that vision be pondered deeply, it is a glass, wherein we may behold the face of the glorious Trinity, the majesty and nature of God himself. For as those three men were three several persons, and yet were named but one Lord; so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be three persons, and one God. Some will reply, that Abraham spake to one of the three, when he said "Lord;" whom he acknowledged to be the chief, taking the other for his ministers and servants. This is proved to be false, of that which followeth: "And the Lord went his way, as soon as he had left talking with Abraham; and Abraham returned to his place. And there went two angels to Sodom at even; and Lot sat at the gate of the city." Lot calleth these two men, after they had brought him without the city, commanding him not to look backward, "Lord," not "lords." Wherefore he which departed was not chief, and their lord. If he had been chief, the scripture would not name the twain remaining Lord; which, in calling the twain Lord also, signifieth unto us, that there was no superiority, no preeminence, no prerogative among them; but equality, as in the Trinity, which is figured by these three men. Some will say, that Lot speaketh not to both, but to one of them. Why then doth the scripture say, "Loth said unto them, Oh! nay, my Lord, behold, forasmuch as thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, &c?" These two men signify Christ and the Holy Ghost, not the Father; forsomuch as they say, that "the Lord sent them to destroy that place." For Christ and the Holy Comforter are sent; but the Father is never sent, but sendeth. Notwithstanding, he which departed before they came to Sodome, sending them twain thither, representeth the Father of heaven; of whom Christ and the Holy Ghost both be sent.

A glass.

Gen. xix.

Now, let us see, good christian people, how this vision doth portray or paint the Trinity. As three men appeared, so there be three persons. As these three persons are named one Lord, so the Trinity is one Lord, one God. As the Father is unsent, so one of these is not sent. And as the Father sendeth Christ and the Holy Ghost into this world, so here twain be sent of one unto Sodome and Gomorrah. As the twain which were sent are called one Lord, so Christ and the Holy Ghost are but one God. Protogenes never painted Ialysus at Rhodes so excellently; nor Apelles Venus; nor Polycletus the image of Doryphorus; as this vision doth lively declare the properties of the glorious Trinity, of which, through which, and for which, all things are. Rom. xi.

But let us search how the scripture useth to speak of the Trinity. John saith: "There are three which bear record on earth, the spirit, water, and blood; and these three are one." The Trinity is signified by these three. The spirit is the Father, for Christ calleth him so, speaking of the true worshipping: "God is a spirit." And by the name of blood we may understand Christ; who for our sakes is become flesh and blood. By the name of water the Holy Ghost is meant; whom our Saviour Christ calleth water, saying, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." "He that believeth on me, saith the scripture, out of his belly shall flow streams of water of life." "This spake he," saith John the evangelist, "of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive." Wherefore, as a spirit is not blood ne water, no more is the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, but a distinct person. Christ is named also a door, a rock, a vine, bread, a bridegroom, a king, a physician; and his Father a husbandman. If the Father be Christ, he is the door, the rock, the vine. Yea, rather, as a husbandman and a vine be diverse things, so Christ is not the Father. The Holy Comforter is called fire, and the finger of God, and the oil of gladness, and anointing; which all be divers things from those oftentimes that figurately be spoken of the Father[1].

1 John v.
Spirit.
Blood.
Water.
John iv.
John vii.
John x.
1 Cor. x.
Christ.
Door.
Rock.
Vine.
Bread.
Bridegroom.
King.
Physician.
John vi.
Luke xi.
John iii.
Spirit.
Fire.
Finger.
Matt. iii.
Exod. viii.
Luke xi.
Heb. i.
1 John ii.

[1] This sentence stands, in both editions, as follows: "The Holy Comforter is called fire, which all be divers things from those oftentimes, and the finger of God, and the oil of gladness, and anointing, that

An objection answered.

But methink I hear some subtle, searching, and crafty-witted man reply, that as Christ and the vine, the door, the rock, be divers names of one thing; and the Holy Ghost, and oil, and fire, and anointing; that so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be three names and one thing: and that the Father is called by these names, as he is called afore by the name of a husbandman. This were somewhat, if we had evident scripture that the Father is Christ, or the Holy Ghost; as we have that he is a husbandman. "And so we have", say they; "for Christ saith, 'I and my Father are one;' and, 'Whosoever seeth me, seeth my Father'." These texts pluck up this opinion by the roots. For in that he saith 'we are,' he teacheth us, that he and his Father be not one person; forasmuch as 'are' cannot be spoken of one person. And in that he saith 'one,' he declareth that he is of the self-same substance. O the deepness and exceeding power of God's word; which with two syllables, 'are' and 'one,' confoundeth two heretics, the Arian and Patripassian! The other text, declaring the Father to be seen in Christ, doth not prove them one person, but rather twain; teaching us that which St Paul writeth to his countrymen, that "he is the brightness of the Father's glory, and express image of his substance." When men look in a glass, and behold their own faces, they use to say that they see themselves; and they, and that which they see, be not all one. When they see the picture of Christ in a painted cloth, they say they see Christ. If we see Christ in his picture, if we see ourselves in a glass, much more the Father is seen in Christ; who is no counterfeit, but "the brightness of the everlasting light, the undefiled mirror of God's majesty, the lively image of the Father's substance." And forasmuch as he is the image of the Father, he is not one person with him; no more than the image of your person is yourself; or the image of my father, William Hutchinson, is my father; or the image of our noble king, Edward the sixth, is the king. God grant that virtue and knowledge may meet in his royal heart, to the confusion of evil doers and heretics! They be two persons, not two gods. For the king's image is called the king, and yet they be not two kings.

John x. John xiv.

We are.

One.

How the Father is seen in Christ.

Heb. i.

A glass.

Wisd. vii.

figurately be spoken of the Father." The above transposition, by which the sense is restored, seems necessary and satisfactory.]

St John speaketh after the same manner, of all three together: "There are three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." Doth he not teach us plainly, that God is a Trinity? Thus, to conclude this chapter: If the Father be both the Son and the Holy Ghost, he took our nature upon him, he was tempted of the devil, he suffered hunger and thirst, he was buffeted and scourged of the Jews, and put to death cruelly; and he also came down in the likeness of a dove, and in the similitude of fiery tongues; he begat himself, he sent himself, he granted himself a seat of the right hand of himself, he is an image, he is greater than himself, he is God to himself. If he cannot be these things, we may easily perceive that he, and his Son, and the Spirit, be distinct and unconfounded persons; and that this word 'person,' in the glorious Trinity, doth not signify a difference of vocation. 1 John v.

THE TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTER.

A person is no outward thing: and what a person is in the godhead: and why the church hath used this word concerning God.

This word also is used for all such things as do cause favour, partiality, regard and friendship; or anger, hatred, displeasure, enmity; both in the old and new testament: as, for riches, authority, office, country, beauty; and poverty, bondage, scarcity, deformity. After this signification and acception king Josaphat, a worthy prince, an earnest promoter of godliness and learning, witnesseth, that "with God there is no unrighteousness, no regarding of persons." St Paul also telleth the Galatians, that "he looketh on no man's person;" and that without partiality he regardeth both Jew and Gentile, bond and free, man and woman. And James biddeth us to avoid such consideration and regard. But in the glorious Trinity a person is neither any outward thing, neither any condition, or difference of vocation; but, as we may gather of the scriptures, and as men learned 2 Chron. xix. Gal. ii. Rom. iii. James ii.

in them teach, a person in the Trinity is an unconfounded substance: or, as other define with many words, a person is a singular substance, indivisible, not confounded, declaring unto us a distinction of the godhead, and not a Trinity of gods.

Person.

Why this word is used in the godhead.

I suppose it necessary, for the understanding of this definition, to declare for what consideration and skill the faithful congregation hath evermore used this word. Forasmuch as the scripture teacheth us, and our belief telleth us, that God is three, they thought it necessary to declare what three God is: who is not three Fathers; for neither Christ is the Father, nor the Holy Comforter: nor three Sons; for the Father is not the Son, nor the Holy Ghost: nor three Holy Comforters. Then, what three is God? Hear an example. When we say, Sidrack is not Misack, nor Misack Abednago, we grant they be three. But if we will know what three they be, we must find out a more general word; that is, three men. Likewise Mary, our Saviour Christ's mother, and Mary Magdalene, and Mary of James, be three: and if we be further demanded what three they be, we answer with general word, that they be three women. Even so the congregation answereth this question, what three is God? with this general word 'person,' to declare that there is a distinction between Christ, and his Father, and the Holy Spirit. For a person is a general word, belonging also unto men, forasmuch as one man is a substance unconfounded with another; as Abraham is not Isaac, and he is not Jacob, ne Jacob is Abraham. But here we must note, that as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are one substance, touching man's nature, that so God, albeit he be three persons, yet he is not three substances, but only one substance. If there be three substances, there be three Gods.

Some clatter and prate, that no such words as 'substance,' and 'person,' be found in God's book; and therefore that they be not to be used concerning God. What, if I shew and find them in God's book, in the bible-book, wilt thou then use them? I will shew this first; after, I will prove, that the meaning of these words may be gathered of infinite texts of scripture; thirdly, and finally concerning this treatise of a person, I will paint the Trinity by corporal similitude, whose nature itself is ineffable and incomprehensible. We

find the word substance, spoken of God, in Paul's letter to the Israelites; where he recordeth, that "our Saviour Christ is a lively image of the Father's substance." Also, in his letters to the Corinthians, he witnesseth, that to God only that belongeth which the Grecians call ON, the Latinists EST; saying, *Non est in illo* EST *et* NON, *sed* EST *in illo est.* We may find in the same apostle the word 'person' in the foresaid acception and signification. For in his letter to the Colossians he writeth of Christ: Ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς, "In him, in Christ, dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead corporally, or bodily:" that is, Christ is a divine person. For corporally in this place is as much to say, as that we call in the glorious and blessed Trinity[1] personally: as the Greek word, σωματικῶς, doth manifestly prove. We find also the word, σῶμα, spoken of the godhead in the book of the second law, otherwise named Deuteronomie. Moses, exhorting the people unto obedience and fulfilling the law, saith: "The Lord spake unto you out of fire; and you heard his voice, but you saw no image." Where the Latin text of these words, "Ye saw no image," is *Corpus non vidistis.* For the Grecians, in whose language St Paul did write this letter, at that time used this word, σῶμα, for that which we call now a person: and as we say there be three persons, so they acknowledged τρία σώματα, "three bodies." Therefore, as σῶμα signifieth a person, so σωματικῶς must needs signify personally. But because many heretics racked this word, to prove the three persons to be of corporal form and shape, the successors of the apostles were constrained to use another word for the same meaning; and so they used for it ὑπόστασις, which word continued in use many years. But now also this word is not used; forasmuch as some heretics would prove by it that God is three substances. For which considerations, the Grecians of more latter time use for it the word person; saying, there be τρία πρόσωπα, in the same meaning and understanding in which they of more ancient time confessed τρία σώματα, or τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. This is the doctrine of the apostles, the confession of martyrs, the catholic church, and general faith of the congregation.

The word substance. Heb. i.

2 Cor. i.

The word person.

[Col. ii.]

Corporally.

Personally.

Deut. iv.

Three bodies.

[1] Glorious and blessed Trinity, 1550; glorious Trinity, 1560.]

THE TWENTY-THIRD CHAPTER.

That Christ is a substance.

Now I will prove, that the scripture granteth unto Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, the meaning of these words, 'substance', and 'person': that is, that Christ is an unconfounded substance, and the Holy Ghost likewise. And first I will prove, that Christ is a substance; and afterward, that they be unconfounded; and so it shall be sufficiently declared, that God is three. For a 'person' is an unconfounded substance. The word, or thought, of man, is no substance, but a transitory thing. But John recordeth, that Christ is the Word of the Father: how then can he be a substance? The archheretic Samosaten[1] made this argument; who also denieth the three persons, saying, that the Father is Christ and the Holy Ghost both. To him I make this answer: St John in the same place telleth us, that Christ, who is the Word, is God; and that God is a substance. I have proved before in my treatise, what God is: wherefore we must needs grant, that Christ is a substance, or else deny him to be God.

John i.

Samosaten.

Tell me, Samosaten, what thou believest of the Father. Is the Father a substance, or not? Both Photinus and Servetus, thy adherents, grant this. Thou sayest also that Christ is the Father. Dost thou not confess him to be a substance, in that thou sayest he is the Father? Again, in denying him to be a substance, dost thou not deny him to be the Father?

[1] Samosatensis, i. e. Paul of Samosata. Quod vero ad ejus impia improbataque ab omnibus dogmata pertinet; videtur aliqua ex parte a Sabellio Paulus mutuatus esse venenum, dum nullam admittens in divinitatis substantia personarum distinctionem, sed sicut unum Deum, ita pariter unam personam in divinis statuens, totum S. Ecclesiæ traditum cultum atque doctrinam sanctissimæ Trinitatis penitus auferebat: sapiebat hæc namque Paulus cum Sabellio atque Judæis, sed a Sabellio discrepabat in eo, quod ille, cum unam tantum affirmaret divinam esse personam, hac assumpta propositione mendacii, illud falsissimum sequeretur, Patrem simul et Spiritum sanctum cum Filio carnem humanam sumpsisse, ac etiam crucifixos esse; Paulus vero, omnem prorsus auferens divinæ naturæ cum humana conjunctionem, Christum hominem tantum, sed justitia præditum fuisse, impudentissime diceret. Baronius, Annales Eccles. A.D. 265. Vol. ii. p. 607. Edit. 1597.]

for the Father is a substance. Thy own sayings prove Christ to be a substance, and not to be the Father. If he be the Father, as thou grantest, then is he a substance. I grant thee so much: but I deny that, of which thy assertion proveth him a substance. For no man is his word, no man is his own thought; but Christ is the Word and Thought of the Father; wherefore he is not the Father, no more than the words of Joseph to his brethren are Joseph himself. St John witness- Gen. xlii.
eth, that the Word, which is Christ, is not a transitory word, John i.
a sounding word coming from the lights, but by a metaphor; but an everlasting Word, by which all things were create, things that are in heaven, and things that are in earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be majesty, or lordship, either rule, or power; saying, "all were made by it, and no- Col. i.
thing without it." He saith also, that this Word is God. It upholdeth things, disposeth all things, governeth all: wherefore it is a substance; for these things cannot be applied to any thing which is no substance. And if so be it be a substance[2], then Christ is a substance; for Christ is the Word.

Christ is figured in the scripture by divers things. Abra- Figure of Christ.
ham and Isaac were figures of him, and the wether which was Gen. xxii.
slain for Isaac; the stone which Jacob anointed, the ladder, Gen. xxviii.
Joseph sold into Egypt, Moses' rod, Josue, Sampson, the Gen. xxxvii. Exod. vii.
brazen serpent, a cluster of grapes, be figures of him; which Num. xxi. Num. xiii.
all be substances: and is he himself no substance? We read not in holy writ, that substances and no substances be likened and compared together. The scripture beareth record of him, that he is no dead image of the Father, for "he is life and John xi. John i.
resurrection;" neither a dumb image, for he is the Father's Word; nor insensible, for he is wisdom; nor counterfeit, for he is truth: but a lively and express image, and therefore a John xiv.
substance, forsomuch as all living things be substances. He answereth the Jews, reviling him that he said, "Abraham had John viii.
seen his days," "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ere Abraham was born, I am." By which words we learn, not only that he is a substance, but also that he is both God and man: God, because nothing is, save only God; and man, forasmuch as in man's flesh he spake. Moses saith of him, "He that Exod. iii.
is, did send me unto you:" for the Son sent him. The Son did shew himself in the likeness of fire. The Son went before

[2 Be a substance, 1550; be substance, 1560.]

the Israelites, by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire. He carried them to the land of promise. He appeared unto them in many likenesses and similitudes. His workmanship governed the world from the beginning; as his answer teacheth us, unto the Jews accusing him for healing a
John v. certain man on the sabbath-day, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." As if he should say: 'Why blame you me for working on the sabbath-day, who never ceased to work? If ye blame me, blame also my Father who worketh hitherto. If ye cannot justly accuse him, ye cannot justly blame me; for
John x. I and my Father are one. Whatsoever he doth, that doth the Son also. He ruleth all things from the beginning, and so do I. He worketh hitherto, and I work hitherto.' Our Saviour Christ teacheth us here, that he is licensed to work on the sabbath-day by the example of his Father, who worketh continually; and that the commandments of the sabbatical rest belong nothing unto him, working inseparably with his Father; and also, that he governeth all things with the Father, and is not idle; condemning and controlling the damnable opinion of the Arians and Paulians. It is needless to speak any further of this thing.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH CHAPTER.

That the Holy Spirit is a substance, not a godly inspiration: he is every where: governor of the world: to be prayed unto: a forgiver of sin.

Against the Libertines. But touching the holy Comforter, many doubt whether he be a substance or not. The Sadducees and Libertines say that all spirits[1] and angels are no substances, but inspirations, affections, and qualities: that good angels are good affections, godly motions, which God worketh in us; and that devils and evil angels are beastly affections, evil thoughts, coming of the flesh. Therefore I think it agreeable unto

[1] All spirits, 1550; all the spirits, 1560.]

my matter, to prove the Holy Spirit to be a substance; for unless he be so, he cannot be the third person in the ever glorious Trinity.

The book of Wisdom witnesseth, that "the Spirit of the Lord filleth the round compass of the world." We can go no whither from this Spirit; we cannot avoid his presence, we cannot fly from him, but by flying unto him; we cannot escape his righteousness, but by appealing to his mercy; for there, as he is not by his favour and grace, he is by his wrath and displeasure; where he is not a benefactor, he is a punisher; where he is not a dweller, he is an avenger. Who can deny him to be a substance, who filleth the world; and not the world only, but Christ also, the only Saviour of the world, of whom it is[2] written, "Jesus, full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan?" If he fill the world, he is God; for this belongeth only to God, as I have proved before. If he be God, then is he a substance; not an inspiration coming from God, as our English Sadducees and outlandish Libertines do teach.

Wisd. i. The spirit is every where. Psal. cxxxix.

Luke iv.

The prophet Esay recordeth, that he governed the congregation of the Israelites, that he was their deliverer out of Egypt, their guide in the wilderness, the worker of wonders; saying, "Where is he who brought them from the water of the sea, as a shepherd doth his flock? Where is he which led Moses by the right hand with his glorious arm? Where is he that led them in the deep, as an horse is led in the plain?" And he answereth: "The Spirit of the Lord led them, as a tame beast goeth in the field." He governeth also the present congregation: for Christ promiseth that "he would pray the Father to send us another Comforter, to abide with us for ever." And Paul testifieth, that "the Spirit giveth to one utterance of wisdom, to another faith, to another gifts of healing, to another power to do miracles, to another prophecy, to another judgment of spirits, to another diverse tongues, to another interpretation;" which be necessary offices in the congregation: so that the Holy Spirit may say also, "The Father worketh hitherto, and so do I;" for he worketh inseparably with the Father and the Son. Whereof it must needs follow, that he is a substance, and that he is God. For the governance of the

Isai. lxiii. Governor of the world.

John xiv.

1 Cor. xii.

[2 It is, 1550; it was, 1560.]

world belongeth to the majesty of the godhead, as I have proved before.

If he were nothing but a godly motion, a good affection, and inspiration; he would not, ne could, have shewed himself in the likeness of a dove, and in the similitude of fiery tongues. He is the finger of God. He is fire, oil, anointing, water, an advocate, a coal; for all these the scripture giveth him. Wherefore he is a substance; forasmuch as all these be substances, not inspirations: for the scripture doth not liken substances to things that be no substances. He is also to be prayed unto, to be called upon: for what is baptism, but an invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? and therefore a substance. No man prayeth unto an inspiration; no man crieth to an affection. Our praying unto him proveth him to hear us, to be Almighty God, to be everywhere, to know the thoughts of all men. But nothing heareth, nothing searcheth thoughts, but a substance. Then he cannot be a thought, a motion, coming from God. Yea, rather, these properties prove him to be the third person in the ever-glorious Deity. "That Comforter," saith Christ, "the Holy Ghost, whom my Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all." If he be a teacher, he must needs be a substance. If he be an inspiration, he is the doctrine which is taught, not the teacher thereof. He gave Symon an answer, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord Christ. He, through the mouth of David, spake before of Judas. He at Antioch commandeth to separate Barnabas and Paul to the work whereunto he had called them. He forbiddeth them to preach God's word in Asia. St Luke, eighth of the Acts, telleth that he monished Philip to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch[1]. Do not these texts prove him to govern the congregation? Do they not witness him to be mindful of both good and evil? Do they not deny him to be an inspiration coming from God? Do they not fortify him to be a substance, to be the third person, to be God? St Peter, when he saith, "Holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost," putteth a plain difference between him and an inspiration: for he is not the inspiration, but the worker thereof,

Matt. iii.
Acts ii.
Exod. viii.
Luke xi.
Heb. i.
1 John ii.
John vii.
Isai. vi.

To be prayed unto.

John xiv.

Luke ii.

Acts i.
Acts xiii.

Acts xvi.

Acts viii.

2 Pet. i.

[1] This word is substituted for a synonymous expression used by Hutchinson.]

the sender of it. Wherefore, as the workman is not his work, as Protogenes is not Ialysus, Apelles is not Venus, the carpenter is not the house; no more is the Holy Spirit an inspiration.

He also forgiveth sin, maketh us the sons of God; for we are christened in his name. And, that we should believe that the Holy Spirit worketh in baptism, it pleased the almighty Trinity that he should notably appear at Christ's baptizing. For this consideration the holy Comforter at that time shewed himself in the likeness of a dove. Doth any angel forgive sin, or archangel? No, truly. This belongeth to the Father only, the Son only, the Holy Ghost only. But methinketh one replieth: 'Seraphin speaketh unto the prophet Esay, "Behold, this hath touched thy mouth, and thine unrighteousness is taken away, and thy sin forgiven."' He saith not, 'I have taken it away;' but 'this', speaking of a hot coal taken from the altar with the tongs; not charcoal, not seacoal, but the coal of the Holy Ghost; who may be well called a coal, for he is fire. The patient man Job telleth us, that "Almighty God garnished the heavens with his Spirit, and with his hand wounded the rebellious serpent:" with whom David agreeth, saying, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the Spirit of his mouth." Wherefore in the work of creation Moses maketh relation of him, telling us, that "the Spirit of God was borne upon the waters." Basil[2], who for his great learning was surnamed *magnus*, expoundeth this place of the Holy Ghost; and saith that his predecessors took it so: for the word 'spirit' cannot signify wind there, which was then not made. "Was borne upon the waters," is no blowing; but as much to say as, 'he sat on the waters.' For as the hen, sitting on her eggs, hatcheth her young ones; so the Holy Ghost hatched all creatures, which there are called waters, as it is written: "When thou lettest thy Spirit go forth, they are made; so thou renewest the face of the earth." Is the garnisher of the heavens, maker of the world, forgiver of sins, mindful of the congregation, no substance, but a phantasy, an imagination?

The spirit forgiveth sin.

Matt. iii.

Isai. vi.

Job xxvi.

Psal. xxxiii.

Gen. i.

And here I suppose it be agreeable unto my matter, to speak somewhat of all good angels in general, and evil spirits; for if I can prove them to be no motions, but substances,

[2 See note at p. 64.]

much more the holy Comforter is a substance. But if it be beside our purpose, yet it shall be a profitable and necessary digression. For there be many late Libertines, and late English Sadducees, which would teach out of scripture, that there is neither place of rest ne pain after this life; that hell is nothing else but a tormenting and desperate conscience; and that a joyful, quiet, and merry conscience is heaven; and that devils are evil thoughts, and good angels good thoughts.

Resurrection. First, if this doctrine be true, we believe in vain the resurrection of our bodies; which is grounded of scripture, and nothing else. So that if you believe scripture, this is a false,

1 Cor. xv. pretensed, and damnable doctrine. "If our bodies shall not rise, then is Christ not risen," saith Paul, "and all preaching is vanity. But our bodies be dead through the sin of Adam, and shall be raised through the righteousness of Christ Jesus. By a man came death of soul and body, and by a man cometh resurrection of soul and body." Were not many christian men baptized over dead men's graves in the primitive church, in token that the dead should rise again? St Paul, in his fifteenth chapter to the Corinthians, the first letter, doth nothing else but confute this damnable opinion of the Sadducees denying the resurrection; which now the Libertines begin to renew. But our Sadducees grant the resurrection. They say, 'We must rise from sin, if we will come to heaven, which is a merry

Two sorts of resurrection, from sin, from death. Rom. vi. and joyful conscience.' There be two sorts of resurrections expressed in God's word, of which it is written: "Likewise as Christ was raised up from death by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in a new life." This new life is resurrection from sin. Christ's raising is the other resurrection; that is, of the body, which began in Christ, the first-

Rom. viii. fruits of the dead. For Paul saith, "He that raised up Christ from death, shall quicken our mortal bodies:" and in

1 Cor. xv. another place, "It shall rise a spiritual body." Our Sadducees, because they either will not, or cannot perceive the difference between these two sorts of resurrection, which both are in scripture, grant in words and deny in deed both heaven and hell, both good angels and ill; defending all resurrection to be from sin to virtue, from vice to godliness, from uncleanness to sanctification. Resurrection from sin is but a figure

Rom. vi. of the other resurrection. For Paul saith: "Christ being once raised from death," not from sin, who never sinned,

"dieth no more....Likewise imagine ye also, that ye are dead concerning sin, but are alive to God." Then it disannulleth not resurrection of bodies, but fortifieth the same; forasmuch as if there be a shadow, there must needs be a body.

Now let us search what the scripture teacheth us of good angels, and believe them. For all scripture, given by inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to control, to amend; and it is truth. No man can deny angels to be creatures, and Almighty God's workmanship, as Paul witnesseth: "He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers flames of fire." How then are they inspirations? Luke registereth, that at Christ's birth a multitude of heavenly soldiers, which were angels, sung, "Glory to God on high; and peace in earth, and rejoicing to men." Therefore they be no inspirations. Did an inspiration appear to priest Zacharie, burning incense in the temple? Did an inspiration shew him that Elizabeth his wife should bear him a son? Did an inspiration make him speechless? No, truly; for the angel telleth what he is, saying, "I am Gabriel, that standeth in the sight of God, and am sent to speak unto thee." In that he saith 'I stand,' and 'I am sent,' he declareth that he is a substance. And if Gabriel be a substance, the rest be also substances. They rejoice over every sinner that repenteth, they behold the face of the Father in heaven, they assist and bear us up in their hands, they carry Lazarus into Abraham's bosom, they minister unto Christ after his temptation, they delivered the law unto the Israelites, they shall come to the general judgment with Christ; and after the resurrection we[1] shall be made like unto them. If they be inspirations, tell me how speaking, singing, standing, sending, joy, seeing, punishing, hands, help, and infinite other things which the scripture giveth to angels, can be in an inspiration, and without a substance.

Angels. 2 Tim. iii. John xvii. Heb. i. Luke ii. Luke i. Luke xv. Matt. xviii. Psal. xci. Luke xvi. Matt. iv. Acts vii. Matt. xxv. Matt. xxii.

Methinketh[2] this assertion hath affinity with the doating opinion of transubstantiation. For our Romanists, although they more stubbornly than truly, and more obstinately than devoutly, defend that no bread remaineth after the consecration; yet they cannot deny but that many accidents remain; as the colour of bread, the taste of bread, breadth, length, and other; the which cannot be in the comfortable

[1 We, 1550; they, 1560.]
[2 Thinketh, 1550; think, 1560.]

and sweet flesh of Christ. Wherefore either the substance of bread remaineth, or else we must say with the papists, that these things be without a substance. The which is, as if we should say, 'There is sickness, and there is health; there is cold and heat, moisture and drith; but there is no such thing as a body.' An angel of the Lord comforteth Agar, the Egyptian, beside the well of the Seer[1], and commandeth her to return to her mistress. Abraham promiseth his servant, that an angel shall aid and further him in his journey. Jacob, when he blesseth Ephraim and Manasses, prayeth that the angel of the Lord, which had been his succour at all times, might bless and multiply them. We read that an angel governeth the hosts of the Israelites; an angel of the Lord killeth thousands of the Assyrians; angels certify women of Christ's resurrection, and the disciples of his glorious return. Wherefore they be no inspirations, no motions, coming from God; but spiritual substances and "ministering spirits, sent to minister for their sakes which shall be heirs of salvation."

Gen. xvi.
Gen. xxiv.
Gen. xlviii.
2 Kings xix.
Luke xxiv.
Acts i.
Heb. i.

Now, as I have spoken of good angels, so I think it no less needful somewhat to speak of evil angels. For there be many late-born Sadducees, which have persuaded their own wavering minds, and allure the consciences of others to the foresaid opinion, that the devil is nothing but *nolitum*, or a filthy affection coming of[2] the flesh, and swerving from honesty, virtue and godliness. I think such have either already said in their hearts, "There is no God;" or that they may as easily be brought thereunto, as Cherea was unto Pamphila. Cherea durst not jeopard in his own apparel, but feigned himself to be another. Even so our late Sadducees and Libertines will not reason these things stiffly for disturbing the commonwealth, or rather for losing their lives: but it is to be feared, that under the colour of Christians they say they reason in the way of disputation, when they speak from the bottom of their hearts. If any man wince at my writing, he declareth that he is a Sadducee. If there be a God, as we most stedfastly must believe, verily there is a devil also; and if there be a devil, there is no surer argument, no stronger proof, no plainer evidence,

[Terent. Eunuch. Act. ii. sc. 3.]

[1] Of the seer, 1550; of Seer, 1560.]
[2] Affection coming of, 1550; affection of, 1560.]

that there is a God. Be not all evil angels spirits? Then are they not sensual motions, but spiritual substances. But I will leave arguments, and call truth to witness. Let us ask the scripture what the devil is: let us inquire of Peter and Paul: let the prophets and the evangelists testify. St Peter saith, that "our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." He compareth him to a lion; he walketh, he seeketh. And the chosen vessel, Paul, warneth us to "put on the armour of God, that we may stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil: forasmuch as we wrestle, noe against flesh and blood, but against rule, against power, against worldly ruler of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness for heavenly things." He maketh a difference between the devil and his assaults, which be beastly affections, saying, "Against the crafty assaults of the devil;" and he calleth them rulers, powers; wherefore they be no fleshy motions.

1 Pet. v.

Eph. vi.

But you will say: 'He calleth them spiritual wickednesses; a wickedness is no substance.' So Terence calleth Davus *scelus;* Tully calleth Cataline *pestis;* so the scripture calleth God love, truth, and light; and ill men darkness. We read in the story of Job, that when the servants of God came and stood before the Lord, Satan came also among them: and God talketh with him, and he answereth, that he had walked through the land; and craveth of God to suffer him to scourge Job; without whose leave he could do nothing. After, he raiseth the Sabees against Job; he killeth his servants; he slayeth his children; he smiteth him with marvellous sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown, so that he scraped away the filth of them with a potsherd. Did an affection work these things, or a spiritual rule and substance? To deceive wicked king Achab, he promiseth that he will be a lying spirit in the mouth of four hundred prophets; he vexeth king Saul; Christ seeth him as lightning falling down from heaven; he blindeth all those that believe not the gospel; he worketh all iniquity; he seduced Adam and Eve; he is the enemy which soweth tares to destroy the seed of everlasting life, that is, of God's word; he is the strong harnessed man, and spiritual Pharao, overcome of our Saviour Christ; he is the governor that ruleth in the air, and king of this world; he setteth Christ on the pinnacle of the

[Andria. Act. iii. sc. 5.] [Orat. in Catilin. i. 5.] John i.

Job i.

1 Kings xxii.

1 Sam. xvi. Luke x.

Matt. xiii.

Luke xi.

Eph. ii.

Matt. iv.

temple, and on a high mountain sheweth him the glory of
2 Cor. xii. the world; he buffeteth St Paul, lest he should be exalted out of measure through the abundance of revelations; he
Jude i. striveth with Mighel the archangel, and disputeth about the body of Moses; he shall cast the faithful congregation into
Rev. ii. prison for ten days; he is the dragon cast out of heaven by
[Rev. xii.] the blood of the lamb, and pursuing the woman. Then he is no fleshly motion, unless our Saviour Christ had such beastly motions; unless also heaven were full of such, which was full of traitorous angels. In the country of the Gargasites two
Matt. viii. devils, seeing Christ, cried out, "What have we to do with thee, O Jesu, Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" and they beseech him of leave to go into the herd of swine. Do affections cry, talk, kill, smite, fall from heaven, tempt Christ, pursue the church? Christ telleth us they shall be punished in the fire with the wicked,
Matt. xxv. saying: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." St Peter
2 Pet. ii. saith, that "God spared not his angels that sinned, but cast them down into hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be kept unto damnation." Paul commanded
1 Cor. v. the Corinthians, to "deliver him which held his father's wife to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh." He meaneth not that they should give him over to the lusts of the flesh, and suffer him to abide in vain pleasures. Wherefore devils are
James ii. no fleshly lusts, carnal motions, sensual affections. "Devils
Matt. viii. believe and tremble," saith James. They confess Christ to be the Son of God; as in the evangelists we may read more than once or twice. But I think our Sadducees will be edified more by a conjurer, than by the words of godliness. Wherefore I send them to conjurers, sorcerers, enchanters, charmers, witches; which will learn and persuade them that there be devils, and that they be not lusts of the flesh, but
Ecclus. xxxviii. spiritual substances and spirits created for vengeance; which now, in the end of the world, shall pour out their strength, to pluck the Lamb of God out of the minds of all men. If therefore all angels, both good and evil, be substances, and not godly or beastly lusts; much more God the Holy Ghost, maker of all spirits, knower of thoughts, governor of the church, forgiver of sins, hatcher of the creatures, filler of all places, is a spiritual substance, and no inspiration.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER.

Christ is unconfounded: why he became man: why he was born of a woman: he took both the soul and body of man: why he chose a virgin to be born of, and why a virgin hand-fasted and married: why he was a babe at his beginning, not an able man, as Adam was at his first creation: why he came so long after Adam's fall: why he was baptized, tempted, crucified, &c.

Now, albeit both Christ be a substance, and the Holy Ghost also, yet it doth not follow that they be two persons in the superglorious Trinity: for they may be both one, as the Sabellians do teach. Wherefore now I will prove that they be unconfounded: the which being proved, no man can doubt hereafter but they be two persons; for a person is an unconfounded substance. We may learn out of God's book, that neither the Father, nor the Holy Comforter, took man's nature upon them; but Christ only. For as through a natural man we were banished out of paradise, made the children of everlasting damnation, so it pleased the almighty Trinity, neither by an angel, or archangel, but by a natural man, to restore us again, and make us heirs of[1] salvation; as Paul witnesseth: "By a man came death, and by a man cometh resurrection of the dead. For as by Adam all die, even so by Christ all be made alive." And the will of God was, that he should be born of a woman. God sent his Son, *factum ex muliere*, "born, or made, of a woman." But why was Christ born of a woman? Truly, because sin and death overflowed the world through the first woman, he worketh the mystery of life and righteousness by another woman; that the blame of sin should not be imputed to his creature, which is good, but to the will by which Eve sinned. For seeing he is a Saviour both of men and women, he becometh man, forsomuch as man is the better kind; yet he is born of a woman, that we should believe him to be a Saviour of women also; so that his birth of a woman, and his be-

Why Christ became man.

1 Cor. xv.

Matt. i. Gal. iv.

Why he was born of a woman.

[1] Of, 1550; to, 1560.]

coming man, declareth him to be mindful of both kinds. But here we must note, that Christ took man's nature upon him, not by the turning of his godhead into his manhead, but by assumpting of manhead unto his godhead; not by confusion or mixture of substance, but by unity of person. "For as the reasonable soul and the fleshly body is one man, so the deity and humanity is one Christ."

Christ took both soul and body.

When I say, 'Christ took our nature upon him,' I mean not, that he took flesh only, as some heretics have thought, but the soul of man also; forsomuch as he is no half Saviour, but a Redeemer of both. For he witnesseth of himself, *Tristis est anima mea*, "My soul is sad unto death;" and, "I have power to put my soul from me, and I have power to take it again; no man taketh it from me." David speaketh also in his behalf: "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither shalt thou suffer thy saint to see corruption." Some are moved to think, that Christ took not man's soul upon him, but the body only, because his beloved disciple saith, *Verbum caro factum est*, "The Word was made flesh," making no mention of a soul. St John saith, "The Word was made flesh;" as Paul recordeth, that "by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified." The which in another place he saith more plainly: "Through the law no man shall be justified;" understanding by the word flesh, not the body only, but the whole man, both body and soul. This manner of speaking is often in the scripture; for David saith, "Thou hearest the prayer, therefore all flesh cometh unto thee:" 'all flesh,' for 'all men.' And note here a vehemency in the words, 'thou hearest;' as if he should say: 'We pray to thee, for we do know that thou dost hear; but of other we know not that they hear; and therefore we only call on thy name.' Thus did the old patriarchs. This was their faith. We never read that they prayed to any creature. And Jeremy curseth him "that maketh flesh his arm," that is, "putteth his trust in man." And John Baptist testifieth, that "all flesh shall see the Saviour sent of God." So John the evangelist saith, "The Word was made flesh;" as if he had said, 'The Word was made man, took man's flesh and nature; which Word is Christ.' I have declared before why he is named a Word, and what manner of Word he is.

Mark xiv. John x.

Psal. xvi.

An objection answered.

John i.

Rom. iii.

Gal. iii.

Psal. lxv.

Jer. xvii.

Luke iii.

Against the late Anabaptists.

But whereof was he made flesh? Of what matter and

stuff was his humanity shapen? Or did he bring it out of heaven? No, truly. The first Adam's flesh was formed of the earth, as it is written: "Then the Lord God shaped man of the mould of the earth." And whereof the second Adam's flesh was made, the blessed apostle St Paul telleth, saying: "When the fulness of time was expired, God sent his Son, *factum ex muliere*, made or born of a woman." He did not pass through her, as water gusheth through a pipe or conduit; but took part of her substance and nature. Wherefore the prophet Esay nameth him a "flower," or blossom, coming out of the root of Jesse. Salomon nameth him "a lily," and "a rose among thorns." Doth not every flower take his nature of the body and stock out of which it groweth? Doth not the lily and rose likewise? Are grapes gathered of thorns, or figs of apple trees? Besides this, it was needful that the same flesh should be punished on the tree, which offended in eating of the fruit of the tree; that the same flesh should be justified and rise in righteousness, which died in sin and unrighteousness. "For by a man," saith Paul, "came death, and by a man cometh resurrection of the dead. And as by the disobedience of one man many became dead, so by the obedience of one man many be made alive." Weigh and consider the comparison that Paul maketh between the first Adam and the second Adam, in the fifth to the Romans, and it destroyeth this opinion utterly. Besides, St Paul saith, that we be "flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones," speaking of Christ: *Membra sumus de corpore ejus, de carne ejus, et de ossibus ejus*, "We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." But how are we, good christian people, "flesh of Christ's flesh," except he be flesh of Mary's flesh, and bones of Mary's bones? Besides, he did suck his mother, and took his nourishment out of her sweet breasts: for we read that a certain woman came unto him, and said, *Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quæ suxisti*; "Happy is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which gave thee suck." Neither Christ, who is truth, doth not reprove her as a liar. Wherefore we must needs grant, that he took his nature, substance, manhood, and flesh, of her.

Gen. ii. Gal. iv. Isai. xi. Cant. ii. 1 Cor. xv. Rom. v. Eph. v. Luke xi.

I do touch this matter, because, not long sith, I communed with a certain woman which denied this point. And

when I and my well-beloved friend Thomas Lever[1], and others, alleged this text against her opinion, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, "The seed of the woman shall grind or break the serpent's head," she answered: "I deny not that Christ is Mary's seed, or the woman's seed; nor I deny him not to be a man; but Mary had two seeds, one seed of her faith, and another seed of her flesh and in her body. There is a natural and a corporal seed, and there is a spiritual and an heavenly seed, as we may gather of St John, where he saith, 1 John iii. "The seed of God remaineth in him, and he cannot sin." And Christ is her seed; but he is become man of the seed of her faith and belief; of spiritual seed, not of natural seed; for her seed and flesh was sinful, as the flesh and seed of others." The seed which is promised unto Adam is named to be *semen mulieris*, "the seed of a woman:" the same is the seed of Eve; the selfsame afterward is called the seed of Abraham, of Jacob, the seed of David, and of the blessed virgin. But the seed that St John speaketh of is *semen Dei*, the seed of God; that is, the Holy Spirit; not Abraham's seed, David's seed, or Mary's seed. How can it be their seed, which took no substance of them? Further, the same promise is renewed unto Abraham, Jacob, David, and others, with all these special words, that of their wombs, of their bodies, of their fruit, of their bellies, of their loins, of their flesh, the Saviour of the world shall be born; not of their faith, of their belief. Wherefore it must needs be a fleshly, a natural, and a corporal seed, of which Christ was made man, maugre the head of the devil and all heretics. Heb. ii. "He took not," saith Paul, "on him the angels; but the seed of Abraham taketh he on him." Now the spiritual seed is in angels more plentifully than in men; forsomuch as they be not depressed with the gross lump of the body. And that we should firmly believe and stedfastly credit, *ex quibus Christus est secundum carnem*, Rom. ix. "that he is of the fathers concerning the flesh," St Matthew and St Luke reckon his kindred, fetch his stock and generation, from Adam, Enok, Noe, Abraham, David, Salomon, Roboam, Zorobabel, &c.

An objection.

The answer.

Gen. xxii.[2] Gen. xxvi. Sam. vii. 1 Chron. ii. Psal. cxxxii.

Matt. i. Luke iii.

[1] I and my well-beloved friend Thomas Lever and others, 1550; I and Master Whytchead, Thomas Lever and others, 1560.]

[2] In the edition of 1550, this and the four following references are inserted in the text as well as in the margin.]

Moreover, Christ came, not only to die for our sins, but also to be an ensample unto us, and a perfect pattern of good living; as shall be declared afterward. "Forsomuch, then, as we be partakers of flesh and blood, he also *participavit eisdem*, took part with us." If he took other flesh, not made of his mother, but of what matter it pleased him, he took no part with us, neither doth his ensample belong unto us. He is our brother: for St Paul saith, "He is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren." Now brethren be of one nature and substance, touching their flesh and body. Therefore she that denieth Christ to have taken his flesh of his mother, is not the sister of Christ, but the eldest and firstborn daughter of antichrist. Yet she pretended that she believed that Christ was a true and natural man: but indeed she denieth his manhood. For if he had any manhood or humanity, as no doubt he had, he had it undoubtedly of his mother; or else he was no man. If he had it not of his mother, define and shew from whence he had it. Yea, they say, it is unknown and undefined in the scriptures. How then can we warrant Christ's humanity against heretics, if we make it uncertain whereof he took it, and if it be unknown whereof it was shapen? Heb. ii.

But albeit he took flesh of his mother, yet it was holy flesh, not sinful flesh, that he took; forsomuch as it was conceived and wrought by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost. Albeit the seed and flesh of other be sinful, yet hers was not so; but sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and most clean. For to her it was said, *Benedicta tu inter mulieres*, "Blessed art thou amongst women." He is *lapis de monte excisus sine manibus, comminuens, &c.* the stone of which Daniel recordeth, that was "cut out of the hill without hands," which hath and shall break into powder the golden, silver, brazen, and iron kingdoms; that is, the four monarchies and empires, of the Chaldies and Babylonians, of the Medies and Persies, of the Macedonians and Greeks, and of the Romans. The hill out of which this stone is taken, is the tribe and house of Juda, which dwelt and was situate upon mount Sion in Jerusalem: and by the words, "without hands," is meant, that this stone, without man's seed, man's help and nature, came out of the foresaid hill; in that he Why he was born of a virgin. Dan. ii.

took his flesh on no earthly father, but only of the substance of Mary his mother, of whose breasts the said flesh was nourished afterward. Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost, not the Father: who, touching his humanity, hath no father upon earth; as concerning his divinity, he hath no mother in heaven. Further, he was born of a virgin; forsomuch as virginity is a far more honourable thing than wedlock. The blessed virgin, *credendo, non concumbendo, gravida facta est*, 'was made fruitful by faith, not by man's help;' by the Spirit, not by lechery. For it was seeming that the unspotted lamb Jesus Christ, who should blot out our sins as the fire melteth the wax, that he should be born without all original sin.

Luke i. Matt. i. Isai. vii.

Matt. i.

Why he was born of a virgin espoused and married. Matt. i.

Notwithstanding he was born *ex virgine desponsata*, 'of a virgin handfasted and married;' partly that the young virgin should not be destitute of a helper, a keeper, a nourisher, in her adversity and travail, and her progress to[1] Egypt; partly also, that none should recount wedlock unclean, or matrimony unpure, forsomuch as he vouchsafed to be born therein. Neither is it any dishonour, any defacing to the divine nature, that Christ, who filleth all the world, filled the womb of the blessed virgin: no, not if her flesh had been sinful and unsanctified. For his divinity is not defiled thereby, no more than the sun shining upon carrion and filthy jakes is dishonoured or defiled through their stinking scents; or rather, much less, for he made the sun. For the divinity is said to be undefilable, not because it toucheth nothing unclean, but because it continueth clean, whatsoever it toucheth. Wherefore he was not defiled with the virgin's womb, but sanctified it, hallowed it with his presence, and made it most clean; and chose himself a mother in earth, because before he had a Father in heaven.

The godhead is undefilable.

Christ is not the Holy Ghost's son.

If any man think, because Christ was born of the Holy Ghost, that he is the Holy Ghost's son, let him not be deceived; for it is no sure reason, if any thing be born of another, to make it straight the son thereof; as for example, we are born of water, and yet we are not the sons of water; we are born of the Holy Ghost, and yet we are not the sons of the Holy Ghost, but the sons of our heavenly Father. Also lice, hairs, and lumbrikes, are bred and gendered of man, and

John iii.

[1] To, 1550; into, 1560.]

yet nobody calleth them the sons of man. Likewise many are called the sons of some, and yet they cannot be said to be born of them; as Æschinus is son to Micio, and yet not born of him. And the scripture calleth them *filios mortis*, "the sons of death," the sons [of] Bellial, the children of the devil, the children of sin and perdition, the sons of wrath, the sons of hell, which were never born of it, but made unto ignominy; and *filios dilectionis*, "the sons of love," the sons of light, of promise, of strength, of the kingdom; not born of it, but such as shall be fellow-heirs with Christ, and are prepared for the kingdom. So our Saviour Christ is said to be conceived of the holy Comforter, and born of him; and yet he is not his son, but the only Son of God the Father; unto whom we be also sons, but we be the sons of promise; he is the son begotten, we be sons through adoption. Christ is the Son of God by nature; forasmuch as the scripture is, that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost; who, being God, became man. We cannot gather thereof, that he is Christ's Father; for touching his human nature, he was born without a Father, as touching his other nature, he lacked a mother; but rather we may reason, that he is his mother; for the mother conceiveth, not the father; and so he shall have two mothers, the which is impossible. Wherefore he is the only Son of God the Father.

[Terent. Adelph. Act. i. sc. 2.]

1 Sam. x. 2 Sam. xii. Judg. xix. 1 Sam. ii. John. xvii.

Psal. lxxxviii.

Coloss. i. Eph. v.

Rom. ix. 2 Sam. ii. Matt. viii.

But why is he born a babe, and a little one, not an able man, as Adam was? Adam was made an able man, because he was made after the image of God, not in sinful flesh through any sin of man. But his posterity and offspring are born babes, forasmuch as they are born in sinful flesh, as David witnesseth, saying: *Ecce enim in iniquitatibus*, &c. "Behold," saith David, "I was born in wickedness, and my mother conceived me in sin." Unreasonable beasts, as the calf, the little lamb, the whelp, as soon as they are born, can go, run, find out their mother's teats and suck them, without any help of other. Only man, when he is born, can neither occupy his tongue in speaking, nor feet in going, nor his hands to find; and except his mother, or nurse, thrust her breast unto his lips, he knoweth not where they are, nor what to do; and would cry for hunger, yea, famish, before he would suck of his own accord. This infirmity is in our bodies when we be young, because Adam and Eve sinned when they were

Matt. ii.

Why all men be born babes, not able men.

old; forasmuch as then our minds also be weak and blind through the same sin, that the feebleness of the body might be agreeable to the ignorance of the mind. For as both
Gen. iii. body and soul sinned in eating the apple, the mind in lusting, the body in taking; so both are punished, the body with infirmity, the mind with ignorance. Now our Saviour Christ, albeit he were not born in sinful flesh, yet, because he was
Rom. viii. born[1] in the likeness of this sinful flesh, he was born a babe; not of perfect bigness, like Adam. His flesh was not sinful indeed, but holy and undefiled; yet it seemeth sinful in that he took both this and all other human infirmities, as hunger, thirst, cold, heat, poverty, death, upon him, which overflowed
Gal. iv. the world through sin. *Misit Deus Filium suum*, "God sent his Son." His coming is his incarnation, and his sending likewise. The Father is not said to come, or to be sent,
Christ's coming or sending, what it is. because he was not incarnate. That the coming and sending of Christ is to be taken of his incarnation, we may perceive by this. For who cometh there, where he is already? or who is sent thither? But Christ is everywhere touching his divinity; for he is the wisdom of the Father, which reacheth from one end to another mightily, and ordereth all things
Wisd. viii. lovingly. Seeing, therefore, he is everywhere, how cometh he where he was not, but by[2] appearing in his humanity?

But it is a great question, why God sent his Son, *cum*
Gal. iv. *venit plenitudo temporis*, "in the fulness of time;" why he came no sooner, but in the ends of the world. If he had come long before, many had been saved which have perished. For sith his incarnation, many mo have believed him than did in time past; for he is "the light shining in darkness."
Why Christ came in the end of the world. Truly, he came when he saw his coming should be most profitable; not being moved thereunto through the consideration of our merits, but of his own voluntary goodness; for our deservings did not constrain him to come. Wherefore we cannot blame him for the loss before his incarnation; for it was not undeserved, it was a just loss. Can the thief blame the judge for condemning him according to the law? Or is the physician to be blamed, coming of his own accord to heal the patient, if he tarry long? He came therefore, when it pleased him, when he knew he should be most welcome. If

[1] Was born, 1550; was not born, 1560.]
[2] Not, but by, 1550; not by, 1560.]

thou help one before his need, he doth not take it so thankfully as when thou succourest him in great need. The hungry man, who hath need of meat, will thank thee more for it than he which hath plenty. The poor will give thee more abundant thanks for thy money than the rich. Before the time of Christ's coming men were not needy, they were not hungry; but thought themselves righteous, rich in all good works, true keepers of the law. Wherefore it was necessary that the preaching of the law should go before his coming; by which men should learn that they had need of a physician: "For by the law cometh knowledge of sin." The law is, *securis ad arborem posita*, "the axe which shall hew down all those that bring not forth good fruits." The law is a glass, wherein we may behold our nakedness, our unclean thoughts, our filthy living. *Lex subintravit*, "The law," saith Paul, "entered in, that sin should increase." "Where abundance of sin is, there," as he recordeth, "also is more plenteousness of grace" of the part of the giver, and more thank of the part of the patient; forasmuch as the sick thanketh the physician, not the whole man. Wherefore Christ, the physician of our souls, would not come but to help the wounded man, to call sinners unto repentance, to seek the sheep which was lost. For this cause God, the Son of God, equal with his Father, in the end of the world humbled himself to our nature, to deliver us from the bondage of the spiritual Pharao, the devil; who held us prisoners perforce, until Christ entered into his house, which is the world, and bound him, and bereaved him of his goods. This is the fulness of time of which Paul speaketh, saying: "When the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son, born of a woman." The warrior which will deceive his enemies, putteth away his own apparel, and clotheth himself in their apparel, that he may safely go into their region, and behold all their provision, and afterward easily overcome them: so our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the latter end of the world, did deck and clothe himself with our nature, to deceive and conquer the devil, who had seduced and conquered mankind in the likeness of a serpent: which policy is figured long before in Jacob, who stealeth away the blessing from his brother Esau in his brother's raiment. Did the Father and the Holy Ghost take our nature upon them? Were they born of a wo-

Rom. ii.

Rom. iii.

Matt. iii. The law is an axe.

Rom. v.

Luke x.

Matt. ix. Matt. xviii.

Gen. xxvii.

man? Were they conceived of the Holy Ghost? Were they born little babes? Did they use this policy to deceive the devil? If not, then is Christ unconfounded with them. Christ also was baptized; not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost. For the Father soundeth[1] these words at his baptism, "This is my beloved Son, in whom is my delight;" and "the Holy Ghost descendeth like a dove, and sitteth upon him."

Matt. iii.

Why Christ was baptized.

Wherefore is he christened? Not for any spot of sin, any crumb of uncleanness in him; but for our erudition and ensample. For if he came to be baptized of John his servant, how necessary is baptism for us which be his servants, and defiled with original and actual trespasses! If he required baptism of him, disdain not thou to be christened of thy inferior; despise not baptism, be thou never so holy, never so perfect; have no light opinion of it. If it were a light thing, Christ would not have required it for our example.

Why tempted.

Christ also fasted after baptism, and was tempted of the devil. He fasted for our example, and was tempted for our victory. He was tempted in all sin, and overcometh, teaching us by his example how to overcome. The devil tempteth him with the lusts of the flesh, with lust of the eyes, and with the desire of worldly promotion. With lust of the flesh, saying, "If thou be the Son of God, speak that these stones be made bread." But Christ answereth, teaching us to fight in like case, "Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of God." He tempteth him with the lust of the eyes[2], bidding him cast himself down from the pinnacle, because it was written that angels had charge over him. Christ answereth: "Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God[3]." He tempteth him with desire of promotion, carrying him unto[4] the mountain, and promising him the glory of the world. But he who made all the world, refused worldly honour; and teacheth us that God only is to be worshipped. All sin is contained in the devil's three temptations, and all virtue in

Matt. iv.

Deut. viii. Wisd. xvi.

Psal. xci.

Deut. vi.

[1] Soundeth, 1550; sounded, 1560.]

[2] With the lust of the eyes, 1550. These words are omitted in the edition of 1560, and are inserted four lines below after *promotion*.]

[3] Thy Lord God, 1550; thy Lord thy God, 1560.]

[4] Unto, 1550; into, 1560.]

Christ's answers. The devil with three propositions would inveigle Christ in all heresies; but Christ confuteth him with three scriptures. And, that thou shouldest not think that Christ is the Holy Ghost, touching his incarnation he is said to be conceived of the Holy Ghost; and in his baptizing the holy Comforter descendeth upon him; and when he is tempted, the spirit leadeth him into the wilderness. Wherefore he is unconfounded with the Holy Ghost.

Christ also suffereth death, to deliver us from the tyranny of death; not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost; for he offered his flesh, an odoriferous and sweet-smelling sacrifice to the Father. The cause why he humbled himself unto death, is, forasmuch as our first parents lost God's favour through pride; for it was said unto them, "Taste, and ye shall be as gods." For this cause it pleaseth Christ to overcome the devil by humility, who through pride enticed us from God. And we also must overcome by humility, recover God's favour by humility, enter into the kingdom of heaven through humility. Down therefore, proud stomach; down, peacock's feathers; down, high mountain, and become a low valley. The Lord will break down the house of the proud, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted; as we may learn of the publican and the Pharisee. We must return to paradise by humility, which we lost by pride. Humility is the porter of heaven gates. *Factus est obediens usque ad mortem crucis*, "He became obedient to the death of the cross." But why is Christ crucified for our sins? Why did he choose this kind of death before other? Truly, because this kind of death is accursed, and all that die of it, as it is written: "Cursed is every one that hangeth on tree." For so it cometh to pass that Christ was accursed for us, to deliver us from God's curse, as Paul saith: "Christ hath delivered us from the curse of the law, in that he was made accursed for us." Only he rose from death to life; only he ascended into heaven in the sight of his disciples; not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost.

Why he suffered death.

Gen. iii.

Prov. xv.

Luke xiv. Luke xviii.

Philip. ii.

Why he died on the cross.

Gal. iii. Acts i.

Some searching wits demand, whether Christ could not deliver us, but by assumpting our nature, by suffering most cruel torments. He could, but he would not. He took our nature, because he came to deliver our nature. That neither kind should think they are despised, he became man, and was

Why he took our nature.

born of a woman; that the serpent, which seduced both man and woman, might be overcome through both. Moreover he came, not only to deliver us, but also to be an example of good living. We be desirous of riches, he preferred poverty; we hunt for promotion, he would not be a king; we are careful to make heirs, to leave many children after us, he despised such fashion; we disdain to suffer wrong, he suffered all wrong; we cannot abide to be reviled, he held his tongue; we hate our enemies, we are unpainful in doing our duties, he was scourged and whipped of his own will for us; we be sore afraid of death, he died for us. He was sent also to heal our infirmities by well-doing, which came through sin. How can our covetousness be healed, but by his poverty? How can our furiousness be cured, but by his patience? How can our unkindness be recompensed, but by his love? How can our timorousness be boldened, but by his resurrection? Further, how could he more set forth his exceeding love toward us, than in dying for us? "A greater love than this hath no man, than to bestow his life," saith Christ, speaking of his own death. The Deity suffereth no infirmity, which is impossible. Wherefore it was necessary that he should take our nature upon him, who came to heal our infirmities, and to teach us to cure them through well-doing. If he had taken them in any other nature, then we might think that he despised our nature, that he loved us not, that the example of his life belongeth nothing unto us. For if he had been tempted in another nature, or died, how could we learn to withstand the devil, to overcome temptations, to despise death, of him? Wherefore, there was no way like this to redeem man. He is wisdom; wherefore he took the most wisest way.

To deliver us.

For example.

To heal us.

John xv.

Wisd. viii.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER.

The Holy Comforter is unconfounded: how, and why, he descended in the likeness of a dove, rather than of any other bird.

Now that I have proved Christ to be unconfounded, mine order requireth to fortify the same thing of the most glorious and holy Comforter: the which is done partly already; for in that we have proved that Christ is not the Holy Ghost, the blessed and almighty Comforter is unconfounded with him. He is unconfounded also with the Father, in that he proceedeth of the Father, in that he leadeth Christ into the wilderness, in that he is sent of the Father; as Christ saith, "When the Comforter shall come, whom the Father shall send in my name;" and in that he is sent of Christ also, as it is written, "When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send in my Father's name." For Christ sendeth him; the Father sendeth both him and the almighty Comforter: but he himself is unsent. That he sent Christ, the apostle testifieth: "When the time was full come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, and made bond to the law;" the which must be understand of the Father, because he saith, "God sent his Son." Wherefore Christ himself saith: "I went out from the Father, and came into the world." His sending, and his coming, is his incarnation; as I have proved before. So the almighty Comforter is said to be sent, because he appeared in visible forms; as in the likeness of a dove, and of fire: not that he became a dove and fire, as Christ became very man; but that it pleased him to work his graces and benefits by a dove and fire; that our hearts might believe his presence, and know his power, through those outward and sensible apparitions. He became not a dove, as Christ became man; forasmuch as he came not to deliver doves, as Christ came to deliver man. God the Father, because he never shewed himself[1] in any visible shape, ne yet took any nature upon him, therefore he is said to be unsent. "The Lord," saith Moses, "spake

John xiv.

Matt. iv.

Gal. iv.

John xvi.

Why the Holy Ghost appeared.

Deut. iv.

[1] Shewed himself, 1550; came to shew himself, 1560.]

unto you out of the fire in Horeb; and you heard his voice, but ye saw no image." Wherefore he is neither the Son, nor the Holy Ghost; which both were sent, and both appeared in many visible forms. For we read, I say,
Matt. iii. of the Holy Ghost, that he appeared *sicut columba*, "in the likeness of a dove."

Why doth he appear in the likeness of a dove? This notable apparition was done for many causes. One is, that we should believe the Holy Ghost to be a worker in baptism, to wash us, to purify us, to regenerate us, to make us God's children and heirs of salvation: and therefore the disciples are commanded to christen in his name, as in the name of
Matt. xxviii. the Father and the Son; for all be notified here in Christ's baptizing, *Pater in voce*, *Filius in homine*, *Spiritus Sanctus in columba*, "The Father is notified in the voice which soundeth, the Son in man's nature, the almighty Comforter in the dove." For as all three be present here, so they do work inseparably in every man's christening. The next cause is, forasmuch as a dove of all creatures is most innocent, and noyeth no beast, not the little worm; most chaste, for they never break wedlock once begun, but keep it undefiled to the end of their lives, (for if so be the male or female, through unchaste love, haunt the company of any other, then they flock and gather together, and rend the advouterer and advoutress in pieces;) void of anger, for they have no gall; lovers of amity and friendship.

And this apparition was shadowed and figured by the
Gen. viii. dove, which Noe sent out of the ark in the time of the general flood. For as that dove returned in the eventide with a leaf of an olive tree in her mouth, signifying peace; so the Holy Ghost giveth peace, causeth all friendship, engendereth all love. And why? Verily, as he is an ineffable communion of the Father and the Son; as he joineth and knitteth them together, with a fast, sure, and unlooseable knot; so he glueth and coupleth our hearts; upon which consideration he properly is called charity, or love. As the dove also mourneth in his love, so the Holy Ghost maketh us to bewail our sins
Rom. viii. and lament our misdeeds; as it is written, "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what to desire as we ought; but the Spirit maketh intercession mightily for us with groanings which cannot be expressed." The Holy

Ghost doth not groan; but is said to groan, as we call a merry day which maketh us merry, and a sad day which causeth sadness; and as cold is called *pigrum*, because it maketh us slow. But, "blessed be they that mourn," like the dove, and in the love of God, "for they shall be comforted." Such as groan for poverty, and are dismayed, discouraged, and mated, through imprisonment or any kind of persecution, be ravens, not doves; be weathercocks and worldlings. For the raven returned not again to the ark, which is the church. The dove maketh his nest in some hollow and high rock; so let us set our minds and desires upon the rock, which is Christ. The dove cherisheth the young of other as well as her own; the which is a lesson unto us to love our neighbours. The dove also will not eat of all manner of grain, but chooseth out the most fine and pure; teaching such as hunger and long for the truth, to feed of God's word, and to beware they fall not upon every carrion. The dove with all diligence and kindness cherisheth his mate, when she hath young ones. Wherefore the all-knowing Comforter appeareth like a dove who commandeth his to be doves: that is to say, chaste, patient, kind, mourners for their sins, faithful and diligent to their wives, earnest believers in the rock, readers of God's word, and lovers of all men. This is the innocency which Christ, inspired with the dove, commandeth, saying: "Be ye wise as serpents, and innocent like doves." Matt. v. Matt. x.

The almighty and all-knowing Comforter is unconfounded also with the Father, in that Christ was conceived of him, not of the Father; of whom Esay prophesieth, "There shall come a rod forth of the root of Jesse, and a blossom or flower shall rise out of the root." The root of Jesse is the kindred of the Jews, the rod is the blessed virgin Mary, the blossom or flower of Mary is Christ; as he witnesseth of himself, *Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium*, &c. "I am the flower of the field, the lily of the valleys, and the rose among thorns." The rose, plucked and taken out of the garden, loseth not his smell; and stilled with the fire, smelleth sweeter than ever it did, pouring forth an odoriferous water no less wholesome for many things than pleasant. Even so Christ, being taken out of the garden of this world, flourished more than all Isai. xi. Cant. ii. How Christ is a flower, or a rose.

the flowers therein; grew in a further authority than all the holy patriarchs and prophets; cast an odoriferous sa-
John xii. vour over all the world, which drew all men to him; and, being digged in the side with a spear of the cruel Jews, which are the thorns, poured forth a water healing all infirmities. This blossom or flower was conceived of the holy Comforter, not of the Father. Moreover the almighty Comforter is the gift of God; for the Lord saith unto
Num. xi. Moses, "I will take the Spirit which is upon thee, and give
Rom. viii. it them:" and Christ also; as it is written: "Who spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things?" Wherefore the Father, Christ, and the Holy Ghost, be distinct and sundry persons.

The Comforter is unconfounded also, in that he was
Gen. i. borne upon the waters, in that he commandeth Philip the
Acts viii. evangelist to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch[1];
Acts x. in that he commandeth Peter to arise and go with Cornelius' servants; in that he commandeth to separate Paul and Barnabas; in that he is the finger of God; in that Christ,
John xx. breathing on his disciples, gave him, saying, "Receive the Holy Ghost." He also descendeth upon the disciples in likeness of fire, teaching them to speak all languages, because the gospel should be preached to all nations. And David
Psal. xix. recordeth: "There is neither speech ne language, but their voices are heard among them. Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words to the end of the world." The Roman dominion hath reached far, but the preaching of the sweet tidings of the gospel shall go further. For those nations which the sharpness of sword could not overcome, shall be vanquished by him that fighteth not with sword, but with wood and word. Christ gave not the Father by breathing; he descended not in the likeness of a dove or fire; he commandeth not Peter to go with Cornelius' servants; he was not borne upon the waters; he is not his own finger; wherefore he is not the Holy Ghost.

But albeit neither Christ nor the almighty Comforter be confounded with the Father, yet they are of one and the selfsame substance with him. For the scriptures teach Christ to be the hand of God, and the Holy Ghost to be his

[1] This word is substituted for a synonymous expression, as in a former instance, p. 136.]

finger. The body, the hand, and finger are one substance; and yet the finger is not the hand, nor the hand the body, nor the finger the body. If therefore the scripture do grant to Christ, to the Holy Ghost, to the Father, the meaning of the word 'person;' that is to say, that the Father is a substance, Christ is a substance, the Holy Ghost is a substance; and that the Father is unconfounded, Christ unconfounded, the Holy Ghost unconfounded, as I have proved; it must needs follow that they be three persons; for a person is an unconfounded substance. This is the catholic faith; the confession of martyrs; the doctrine of the prophets, apostles and evangelists.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Corporal similitudes of God made in the scriptures: why he is named light, fire, the sun, &c.: the image of God in man's soul.

Now, gentle reader, seeing I have declared what a person is, out of the book of holy scriptures; and also proved, with infinite authorities, that there be three persons, that is, three unconfounded and distinct in property; I will disclose the divine and blessed nature of the almighty Trinity by corporal and earthly similitudes; that thou mayest behold, as it were in a glass and with a pair of spectacles, those things which exceed and surmount the capacities of all creatures. "The invisible things of God," Rom. i. saith Paul, "that is, the eternal power and godhead, are understand, seen, and learned of his works, from the creation of the world." As long as we continue in this tabernacle and mortality, we shall never have perfect understanding of the eternal God; forasmuch as the hearts of all men and women be unclean. "Blessed be the clean-hearted," saith Matt. v. Christ, "for they shall see God." Our life is a warfare, a night, and a purifying of our hearts from sin and igno-

2 Cor. v. rance through charity and faith. "We walk in faith," saith the apostle, "and see not." With this only ladder we ascend to the intelligence of the secrets of God. Things supernatural cannot be perceived with natural light. Cherubin and seraphin, and all the blessed company of angels, Matt. xxiv. are ignorant of the majesty of God; for they know not the day of Christ's glorious return: and yet they have more plentiful knowledge than we; forasmuch as they be pure minds, and were never neither blinded through sin, ne hindered through any earthly mansion and corruptible body. Prov. xxv. *Scrutator majestatis opprimetur a gloria:* "Whosoever is an ensearcher of God's majesty is oppressed of the glory." No man is able fully and perfectly to know the nature of a gnat, or a little spider. Be not displeased then, if I shew thee the Trinity in his visible creatures, as it were in a glass; but glorify God and be not unthankful to him, which hath opened himself in them to thy capacity, feeding thee with milk because thou art not able to digest strong meats. And because no man shall be offended with this manner of teaching, I will make no similitudes of the Trinity but out of the plentiful storehouses of the scriptures.

Abraham's vision. Gen. xviii. The best and most lively glass that ever I beheld the Trinity in, is the vision which appeared to Abraham in the oak-grove of Mamre. For as there three wayfaring men shew themselves unto Abraham, so God is three persons: and as these three men are called one Lord, not Lords, so the three persons are one God, one Lord, one substance. And as Christ and the almighty Comforter are sent of the Father, so here one sendeth twain unto Sodom and Gomorre; and as the Father is unsent, so he is not sent, but sendeth. Gen. xix. And as the twain which are sent to destroy Sodom are called one Lord of Lot, so the faithful congregation confess and believe Christ and the all-knowing Comforter to be one God. I touched this similitude before; and because it is so notable, I thought it not unworthy to be rehearsed again.

There be many similitudes declaring certain properties of the Trinity, and some agreeable in one point and some in another; but none doth so paint and pourtray it before our eyes, as this vision doth. We may find an image of the Trinity in the sun; for God is called by the name of

the sun in the book of Wisdom: *Sol justitiæ et intelligentiæ non est ortus nobis*, "The sun of righteousness and understanding arose not upon us." There is but one sun only, not many; so there is but one God. The sun shineth upon both good and evil men; so the liberality of Almighty God maintaineth both. The moon and all the stars have not their light of themselves, but of the sun; so the congregation and godly men, which are called by the name of the moon and stars in the scriptures, have no light, no crumb of virtue, no goodness of themselves, but by participation of the divine nature. They which gaze upon the sun are blinded with his clear light; so all searchers of God's glory beyond the scriptures are overwhelmed with the majesty thereof. The presence of the sun cheereth all things; when he is absent, night cometh and darkness; and nothing would grow if he did not rise on them: so when God hideth his face, they are sorrowful, and die; when he looketh on them, they wax young and lusty like an eagle. And as Democritus and other philosophers hold opinion that the sun is infinite, so all things be infinite in God. He is of an infinite arm, of infinite majesty, of infinite wisdom. As the sun is the fountain out of which cometh both the light and the heat; so is the Father the fountain, out of which issueth the Son and Holy Ghost. And as neither the light nor the heat doth send the sun, but the sun send them; so the Father is sent neither of Christ nor of the Holy Ghost, but he sendeth them. And as of the sun and of the beams, both together, cometh the heat or warmness; so from the Father and the Son, both together, proceedeth the all-knowing Comforter. But as the sun-light, by division, is in many places, so the blessed Trinity filleth all places without division; neither contained in place, neither moved in time. Now, if the sun were without beginning and ending, eternal beams would come out of him, and everlasting heat would proceed out of the sun and his beams. Wherefore inasmuch as God the Father is immortal, Christ his Son also must needs be immortal, forasmuch as the Father is likened to the sun, and Christ to the clear and bright beams; for he is "the brightness of the everlasting light."

Wisd. v.

How God is named the sun of understanding.

Psal. civ.

Democritus. [Cicero De Finibus, i. vi.]

Wisd. vii.

I would know of the Paulians and Arians, whether the

Father in time began to be a Father, or was a Father evermore without time. If they grant that he was a Father ever, the which they cannot deny, then it must needs follow that the Son was evermore. For he was not a Father before he had a Son, but he was called a Father of the Son; and he that is always a Father, hath evermore and always a Son. If Christ was not evermore, then time was before him; and then the apostle lieth, calling him *Primogenitum omnis creaturæ*, "first begotten of all creatures;" for time is a creature and was before him. But time was made by Christ; for "all things were made by him," as the beloved disciple witnesseth. If he were the maker of time, then he was before all time; and that which was before all time is not moved in time, but is without time, without beginning, and immortal. Wherefore Christ is immortal, and then he is God; for only God is immortal after this sort. Likewise the all-knowing Comforter was evermore, who is compared to the heat; for an everlasting heat must needs proceed out of an everlasting sun and everlasting beams. He is *digitus Dei*, "the finger of God." "If I cast out devils in the finger of God," &c. For where Luke saith, "In the finger of God," it is in Matthew, "I cast out devils in the Spirit of God." Then either we must confess him to be without beginning, and of the substance of God; or else grant that God once lacked a finger, and deny the same to be of the substance of the body. Like reason may be made of Christ, who is the hand and the arm of God; for God was never without his finger, hand, ne arm; and then all three be of the same nature with the body. And forsomuch as God's finger is almighty, and his hand and arm likewise, both Christ is almighty, and the blessed Comforter also; and Christ is God by nature, and the holy Comforter also. For nothing is almighty and of the nature of God, but God only.

Col. i.

John i.

Luke xi.[1]

Matt. xii.

Jer. xxxii.

But the Arians reply, that the Father is elder than the Son, and that he which begetteth is before him that is begotten: *Ego hodie genui te*; "This day begat I thee." This is true in fathers upon earth, but not in an everlasting Father, who must needs have an everlasting Son. Neither

An objection answered.

[1] This reference is introduced into the text as well as inserted in the margin of the edition of 1550.]

doth this reason hold in all earthly things: for fire gendereth light, and heat proceedeth from it; and yet the fire gendering, and light gendered, and heat proceeding, be *coæva*, not one before the other. Therefore it is against reason, that the Father begetting, and Christ begotten, and the Holy Ghost proceeding, should be co-eterne, co-immortal, and not one before the other in time, but each one of them before all time.

And well may the Trinity be likened to fire, and his heat, and light; for God in the scripture is called fire: *Dominus Deus tuus ignis consumens est;* "The Lord thy God," saith Moses, "is a consuming fire." And John calleth him also 'light,' saying, *Deus lux est;* "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." And Christ witnesseth of himself that he is light, saying, "I am the light of the world;" who is *lumen de lumine,* "light of light." For as the fire ministereth light to a multitude, and yet is not minished or consumed thereby, so God bestoweth innumerable benefits upon us, and yet his liberality is not hindered therewith. Likewise also in a candle, of which many other candles be light, the light is not thereby in any wise diminished or hurt at all. One supper doth not refresh, or suffice, many as well as few; but the voice of one preacher teacheth as well a hundred as one. The sound of one bell is never the less when it is heard of many. Even so he who preserved the small portion of meal and oil for the widow and her son, that was not diminished, who with a very few loaves and a certain fishes refreshed a great multitude, so that those things were not diminished but increased, knoweth how to employ his benefits without any loss or detriment to his liberality. Moreover, as fire sendeth forth both heat and light, but neither heat ne light sendeth fire; so the Father sendeth both Christ and the all-knowing Comforter, and he is unsent. And as both the light and the heat are of the fire, so Christ and the Holy Ghost both are of the Father, the one begotten, the other proceeding; and the Father only is of himself, and of no other. And as fire is not before heat and light, no more is the Father before the Son and the Holy Ghost. But in that place which I rehearsed out of Deuteronomy, God is called fire, because he melteth the sins of those that will

How God is fire and light. Deut. iv. 1 John i.

John viii.

1 Kings xvii.

Matt. xiv. Mark vi. Luke ix.

Deut. iv.

amend, as the fire melteth wax, and punisheth the sins of
1 John i. disobedient persons with unquenchable fire: and John calleth him light for the same cause; for light putteth away darkness, and is contrary to it. For these properties, and divers other, the scriptures call God the sun of righteousness, fire, and light.

If we ponder them diligently, we shall find also the image of the blessed Trinity in ourselves, in our own na-
Gen. i. tures. For it is written: "God made man after his image, after the image of God formed he him." This image is in our souls, not in our bodies: as I have proved in
A glass to see God in. my confutation of the Anthropomorphites, or humaniformians. Man's soul is a lively image of God. The soul is a spirit; Almighty God is a spirit: the soul quickeneth and ruleth the body; the Trinity governeth the marvellous frame of this world. Reason, will, and memory, are three, but one and the same soul. So the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three, distinct in property, and one God. Whatsoever thing the soul doth, these three be the workers thereof. Reason cannot discern good and evil, truth, falsehood, plainness and craft, proof and sophistication, without either will or memory. Neither will chooseth what him liketh, without the other; nor memory remembereth not things gone, without reason and will. These actions and works, which are said properly to belong only to memory, and only to reason and will, in very deed are done by the
The works of the three persons be inseparable. workmanship of all three. So the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, work all things inseparably; not that each of them is unable to work by himself, but that they all three are one God, one spirit, one nature; as reason, will, memory, are one soul. The Son worketh always with the
John v. Father; for "whatsoever the Father doth, that doth the Son also:" and Christ recordeth, that as his Father worketh hitherto, so he worketh. The almighty Comforter cannot
Wisd. i. be absent from their works; for he is the Spirit of them both, and filleth the round compass of the world.

If I would gather all the works of each person into an induction, I could manifestly prove this to the capacity of all men; but it is too long to speak of all[1] their works. I will speak of the creation of the world, of Christ's incar-

[1] Of all their, 1550; of their, 1560.]

nation, of his miracles and resurrection; proving all these to have been done by the workmanship of the three persons. For if the Trinity did work inseparably in these, no doubt it hath done likewise in all other.

First, touching the creation of the world, no man distrusteth the Father's working, of whom that is supposed to be spoken, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." If thou doubt of Christ and the holy Comforter, hearken what the prophet David saith: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and by the word of his mouth the glorious fairness of them." Wherefore heaven and earth be the workmanship of the three persons.

Was Christ conceived in the womb of Mary by the workmanship of the holy Comforter, and is he not Maker of the world? If the three persons work evermore without separation, why doth the scripture grant certain works to one person, and certain to another? Truly, to teach us that there be three persons; that there be three distinct, three unconfounded. Only the person of the Father soundeth the voice in Christ's baptism; only the Holy Ghost appeareth like a dove; and only Christ is incarnate. Notwithstanding, both the flesh of Christ, and the voice of the Father, and the apparition of the all-knowing Comforter, be the workmanship of the whole Trinity. I mean not that Christ and the Holy Ghost sounded the voice, but that they were workers of the voice; the Father only sounded it, not Christ, not the Holy Ghost. For they be distinct and unconfounded. They be three, not all one; three persons, not three names. So the Holy Ghost only shewed himself in the shape of a dove; not the Father, not Christ. Nevertheless the dove in which he appeared, was the workmanship of all three. So neither the Father, nor yet the blessed Comforter, were incarnate, but Christ only. Nevertheless the flesh and nature of Christ was the workmanship of the whole Trinity, whose works be inseparable. This may be gathered of the words of the angel to Mary: *Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi*, "The Holy Ghost," saith Gabriel, "shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." By the Highest, the Father is to be understand: by these words, *virtus Altissimi*, "the virtue

An objection answered.

Luke i.

or power of the Highest," the Son. For so Paul[1] calleth
1 Cor. i. him to the Corinthians, saying: "We preach Christ crucified; unto the Jews an occasion of falling, to the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both of the Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power and wisdom of God." The word *virtus* is translated in English, 'virtue,' or 'power.' The Greek word is *Dunamis*, both in Paul and in the answer of the angel. Peradventure some man will deny that the Father is meant by the word *Altissimus*. Therefore I will fortify his operation with another reason. Christ's incarnation is his sending; as I have proved before. For who is sent thither where he is already? But he is every where, touching his divinity. Wherefore he is sent thither where he was not, by appearing in his humanity. And it is plain that the Father sent him. Wherefore the incarnation of Christ is the workmanship of the holy, glorious Trinity.

The scripture telleth, that our Saviour Christ also by his word and commandment did cast out many devils. But the same witnesseth, that the Father and the Holy Ghost did work with him; lest thou shouldst think the works of the Trinity to be separable. For of his Father
John xiv. he himself saith: "The Father that dwelleth in me, is he which doth the works." And of the all-doing Comforter
Matt. xii. also: "I cast out devils in the Spirit[2] of God." Like proof may be brought of all his other miracles.

So only Christ arose from death to life; and yet the holy Trinity raised him. For of the Father it is written,
1 Pet. i. "Who raised Christ from death:" and of himself he testi-
John ii. fieth, saying to the Jews asking a token, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it up again:" and
Rom. viii. that the Holy Ghost raised him, Paul is record and witness, saying, "Wherefore, if the Spirit of him which raised up
John vi. Jesu from death dwell in you;" and John also, "the Spirit quickeneth." For it is not to be taken only of the quickening of our souls, but of our bodies also: neither is it unlike, that the holy Comforter did raise him whom he formed in the virgin's womb. Like proof might be made of all the

[1 Paul, 1550; St Paul, 1560.]

[2 Spirit, 1550; scripture, 1560.]

peculiar works of the all-working Comforter and of the Father. Wherefore their works be no more separable than the works of reason, will, and memory: namely, seeing they be one God, as the other three be one soul.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER.

How there is but one God only: the divinity of Christ, and the all-doing Comforter, notwithstanding this unity.

Now I have almost declared all the contents of this treatise: that is, what God is; what a[3] person signifieth; and that there be three persons in the glorious Trinity. For the proof of my last matter and content, I will first teach with evident scriptures, that there is but one only God, and then with reasons, not of philosophy, but gathered out of them; for "the scripture is profitable to teach, to control, and to instruct." 2 Tim. iii. Then I will prove, that the same scripture granteth all and every one of the parts of the definition made of God to our Saviour Christ: and that done, I will fortify also, that all the parts of the same definition are granted to the all-knowing and almighty Comforter. The christian congregation believeth the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to be one God; not by nuncupation only, but by unity of nature. For if the multitude of them that believed were *cor unum et anima una*, "one heart and one soul;" if "he which is joined unto the Lord is one spirit;" if man and wife be "one flesh," one body, as the apostle witnesseth; if all men be one substance, touching their nature; if the scriptures testify that in human things many be one; how much more are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost one God, which differ not in nature and substance! For it is written, "There are three which bear record in heaven; the Father, Acts iv. 1 Cor. vi. 1 John v.

[3 What a person, 1550; what person, 1560.]

the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." The unity of their nature proveth them not to be three gods, but one God.

Arians' interpretation confuted.

The damnable sect of the Arians expoundeth this text, *hi tres unum sunt*, "these three are one," that they be one in will, in assent, and consent, and not in their substance, nature, and divinity. To which I make answer, that in all the scripture they cannot find *unum sunt* spoken of things which differ in substance and nature. Wherefore, spoken of the three persons, they prove them to have no diversity in their nature. And if that be true, they must grant of necessity

1 Cor. iii.

that they be one God by nature. St Paul saith, that "he that planteth, and he that watereth, *unum sunt*, are one." Are they of diverse substance and nature? No, verily; for both of them were men. He speaketh these words of himself and of Apollo (for the congregation rejoiced in them); forbidding the Corinthians to rejoice in men, and teaching them to rejoice in God only. Wherefore these words, *unum sunt*, in this place are not spoken of things which differ in substance. Let us ponder other texts. The same Paul unto

Gal. iii.

the Galatians saith: "All you *unum estis in Christo Jesu*, are one in Christ Jesu." He speaketh this of the Galatians, which all were of one nature, of one lump and substance. For they all were men, of men. Here thou seest also, reader, that these words, *unum sunt*, are not spoken of things which differ in substance.

But the Arians reply, that the apostle witnesseth, that

1 Cor. vi.

"he which is joined unto the Lord is one spirit;" and yet he is not of the same substance that the body is. The Latin there is not *unum sunt*, "are one," of which I do

An objection answered.

speak, but *qui adhæret Domino unus spiritus est*, "he that is joined to the Lord is *unus spiritus*, one spirit." For *unus*, joined with another word, as with *spiritus*, may be spoken of things which are of discrepant nature, as it is here: but *unum sunt* is never so spoken. Search all the bible throughout, and thou shalt find this to be true. I grant that the words *unum sunt* be spoken often of assent in will; but only in those things which differ not in nature and substance. And truly the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, *unum sunt voluntate*, are one in will and assent; but also of one substance, nature, and divinity; forasmuch as

unum sunt, "are one," is never spoken of things which differ in substance.

The Arians reply further, that Christ prayed for his elect, *ut sint unum*, "that they may become one, as he and his Father were one." He doth not pray that they, and he, and the Father may be one; but that they be one, as he and his Father be one, both in nature and will; as it followeth in the same text, *Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, [ut] et ipsi in nobis unum sint*, "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." For mortal men cannot be of the same substance that God is. They may be one in God, but not with God. They may be one, as the Father and Christ be, but not of their nature: that is, as the[1] three persons of the glorious Trinity are one in will and assent, and substance also, so the chosen after this life, as they are now of one substance, so shall they be then also; not with God, but in God; of one assent, consent, and will, and not squaring one with another, for they "shall be all one in Jesus Christ," and "Christ shall be all things in all," and God shall be all things in all: which proveth Christ God. *Unum sunt* is spoken here of the elect, which differ not in substance, for they be men. Therefore the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are of one substance and divinity.

Another objection answered.

John xvii.

Col. iii.

1 Cor. xv.

And if they be of one substance and divinity, they are not three gods, but one God; as it is written, "Hearken, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God." He saith unto Israel by Moses, "Where are their gods wherein they trusted, the fat of whose sacrifices they eat, and drank the wine of their vessels? Let them arise up and help you, and be your shield. See now how I am alone, and that there is no God but I. I can kill, and make alive; and what I have smitten, that can I heal. I will lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live ever." If there be many gods, their kingdom is divided: but the kingdom of God is everlasting; wherefore it is not divided, for every kingdom divided shall be destroyed. The Hebrew word for God is *Elohim*, which is not of the singular number, but of the plural; for there be three persons: but it is alway joined with a verb singular, lest that we should think there were many gods. Moses useth this word for the

Deut. vi.

Deut. xxxii.

Matt. xii.

Elohim.

[1] Is, as the, 1550; is, the, 1560.]

English, which is 'God,' when he saith, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth:" wherefore we may learn, that the world is the workmanship of the holy Trinity. This word is used commonly for God, to signify, that whatsoever is done is the work of the three persons; for as they be not separable, so they work inseparably.

The heathen opinion confuted.

The heathen supposed there were many gods, because it seemed to them impossible for one to rule and govern all things: yet they divided the governance thereof between three; giving heaven and earth to Jupiter, the seas to Neptune, the low parts and hell to Pluto. But the scriptures, which is truth and cannot lie, testifieth that the three persons, without division, without labour or pain, without time, govern all things; for their works be inseparable. If so be there be many gods, then is there somewhat wherein one of them doth differ from another. Now, if that be any good thing, he is no God that lacketh or wanteth any thing that good is. For as he that nameth a king doth in this one word comprehend many excellent things, so he that nameth God doth comprehend in this word an infinite sum of all good things. We read of a certain ruler which called Christ "Good master," asking him, what he should do to get and achieve eternal life: whom Christ rebuked, saying, "Why callest thou me good? none is good but God only." If God only be good, then all goodness is in him: as I have proved in my first matter. He is life, is truth, he is light, he is strength, he is health, he is θησαυρὸς ἀγαθῶν, that is, "a treasure and heap of all goodness." And if that thing wherein they differ be an evil thing, that cannot be God that hath any evil thing in him: for he willeth no wickedness. The heathen, which worship many gods, did and do think no evil to come by them, by the light which they had of nature; and judged them to revenge and punish all that they took to be sin. Now, if God be a righteous punisher of vice, he must be void of the same. Wherefore natural reason teacheth, that there is but one God. Doth not the noble and worthy philosopher, Aristotle, teach us this, proving that there is but *unum primum mobile*, 'one first mover,' who moveth all the heavenly spheres?

Luke xviii.

Aristotle.

Against the Manichæans.

The Manichees make two gods, which they call *duo principia contraria*, 'two principles one contrary to another.'

For they say, that one is an evil God, maker of visible things; the other a good God, maker of invisible things. And they say also, that both of them be unbegotten, uncreate, and of themselves. Then are they immortal. But if they be immortal, there is no God that "only hath immortality," and Paul lieth, who saith that God, not gods, hath immortality. And all the prophets, evangelists, and apostles be liars; teaching with one assent, that God only forgiveth sin, that God only knoweth all things. For if there be two gods, both of them must have these properties. If either of them know not all things, then is he ignorant, and then no God. If both know all things, then is there no God which only knoweth all things. Both also must forgive sin; the good, because he is merciful; the evil, because he is the cause of all sin: and then is there no God which only pardoneth sin. Moreover, if both the Manichees' gods be immortal, if both pardon sin, if both know all science, they be not contrary: for knowledge is not contrary to knowledge, but ignorance; and unmercifulness is 'contrary to mercy and forgiving; and death to immortality. Wherefore there be not two contrary principles, but one principle and one God. The christian congregation confesseth that the Father is *principium*, 'a principle', or 'beginning'; for so the beloved disciple calleth him, saying, *In principio erat Verbum*, "In the beginning was the Word," in the Father was Christ. They acknowledge Christ also to be *principium;* who answereth the cruel Jews demanding who he was, saying, "The beginning which spake unto you." But the Father is *principium non de principio;* Christ is *principium de principio*. They confess the almighty Comforter also to be *principium*, forasmuch as he, with the Father and the Son, made all things, and governeth them; as I have proved before. Notwithstanding there be not three beginnings, but one beginning only; as there be not three gods, but one God.

1 Tim. vi.

John i.

John viii.

The papists also bring in many gods, but covertly and privily. They teach the people to pray unto saints: to St Luke for the ox, to Job for the pox, to Rocke for the pestilence[1], to Sith for things lost, to Christopher for con-

Against praying to saints.

[1] The Golden Legend abounds with confirmations of this passage. It informs us, that after the decease of Saint Rocke, a "table dyvynely wryten with lettres of golde," was found under his head, which table was

tinual health, to the queen of heaven for women with child, to Clement for good beer: yea, they entice the people also
The first reason. to worship and honour their images. If they be to be prayed unto for these things, they be gods; for in praying unto them, we acknowledge them to hear us, to be almighty, to be every where, to know the thoughts of all men, to be a strong castle unto such as fly unto them: but these things belong only to God, as I have proved before. Wherefore they make them gods.

O crafty devil! O subtle papists! The Jews are reproved, by the voice of the prophets, for making many gods, in that they prayed unto Baal, Astaroth, Moloch, and the queen of heaven, for aid and succour. Why do we not ask all
The second.[1] good things of him which is the author and giver of all good things both to his enemies and friends, both to the
Isai. l. and lix. heathen and to the congregation? Is his hand smitten off, that it cannot help? Have we perceived at any time crudelity or unkindness in him? Are his ears stopped, that he cannot hear? or his eyes so dim that they cannot see?
Psal. xciv. He planted the ear, he made the eye; wherefore he both heareth most easily and seeth most perfectly. And because he is the fountain of all mercy, he granteth our requests most mercifully. He is not like an earthly king, who setteth porters at his gates. He is not hard to speak with, for he is the gate himself; as he telleth us, *Ego sum via, veritas,*
John xiv. *et vita*, "I am the way, the truth, and life;" and, *Ego*
John x. *sum ostium*, "I am the door." There is but one way, one

placed there by an angel, and contained an inscription, which purported "that God had graunted to him (St Rocke) his prayer, that is to wyte, that who that calleth to saynte Rocke mekely, he shall not be hurte with ony hurte of pestylence:" (Golden Legend, fol. ccxv. edit. Lond. 1527.) and also, that St Christopher obtained from God "by prayer to put awaye sekeness and sores for them that remembre his passyon and figure." (ibid. fol. clxxviii.) According to the following passage, the merits of St Clement were considered to avail for other purposes than the one mentioned by Hutchinson: "Let us devoutly praye unto this blyssed saynt, saynt Clement, that by his merytes we may deserve to come to the blysse of heaven." (Ibid. fol. cccxxxii. b.) "Sith" means St Osyth, to whom the patronage of 'things lost' was assigned in consequence of an incident in her life related in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. ccxlv. b. edit. 1516.]

[1 These words do not occur in the edition of 1550.]

door; and he that entereth in by the door findeth pasture. He that entereth in not by the door, he is a thief, a robber. And why? For he robbeth God of the glory belonging only to him, giving it to his creatures. They which fly unto saints depart[2] make many ways, many doors, and many gods. If they are to be prayed unto, we must believe on them; for the apostle saith, *Quomodo invocabunt in quem non crediderunt;* "How shall they call on him, pray to him, on whom they believe not?" If we must believe on them, then let us be christened in their names. But holy baptism is commanded not to be ministered in their names; but *in nomine*, 'in one name', of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Wherefore, as they are not to be believed upon, so are they not to be called upon; but God only, whose highness disdaineth the fellowship of any creature. Let us therefore pray unto him; for he is the well of water of life. Let us not dig vile and broken pits, which hold no water. Let us take heed of the streets of Egypt, and of the ways of Assyria. God is no wilderness to his people, nor land without light, but a merciful and a liberal God. Such as make flesh their arm, are accursed. Let us make Christ our arm, for he is the arm of God; "who in all things became like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and a faithful bishop in things concerning God, to purge the people's sins." God only knoweth our need, searcheth our thoughts and intents, granteth our desires, blesseth and crowneth us; and there be no mo[3] Gods, no mo[3] hearers, no mo[3] judgers of thoughts, beside him. He saith by his prophet: "I am the first and the last, and beside me is there no God. Have not I the Lord done it, without whom there is none other God? The true God and Saviour, and there is else none but I. And therefore turn unto me, all ye ends of the earth, so shall ye be saved. For I am God and there is else none."

The third. Rom. x. Jer. ii. Psal. lix. Jer. xvii. Heb. ii. Isai. xliv. Isai. xlv.

If there be many gods, the divine power, governance, and rule, is divided between them: and then it is not an everlasting power, but mortal; for whatsoever is divided is mortal. But natural reason denieth God to be corruptible, and his power to decay. Wherefore it protesteth, that there is but one God which ruleth all. Moreover, the divine power

[2] Depart, i. e. departed.] [3] Mo, 1550; more, 1560.]

is a perfect power and a general authority; for God is almighty and general Governor. If there be many gods, each of them hath a certain portion to rule. But they which have but portions, are no gods; for the power of God is a perfect power, and a perfect power comprehendeth all power. If there be many gods, they have several dominions, and every one of them lacketh so much as the other gods have; and so the mo gods they be in number, the less is their power and authority. As for ensample[1], the king is most mighty who hath all the world under him; for all things are his, the riches of all men belong unto him. If there be many kings, they are of less power. There is no such authority among them, no such power: for every one of them hath his dominion, his portion to rule, and presumeth not beyond his own bounds. Even so if there be many gods, they are of lesser[2] power. But reason giveth God a perfect and an absolute power. Wherefore there is but one God only; forasmuch as perfect power cannot be in many.

Also, if there be many, how do they know that they shall continue of one mind and will? If they do not, as it is like, for it is a common saying, *tot capita tot sensus*, 'as many minds as heads'; then this diversity will provoke them to battle; as we read in Homer, who bringeth in the gods fighting one with another; some of them taking part with the Trojans, some with the Greeks: for diversity in will causeth war. The heathen grant that God hath a general authority, and a perfect power; but they say, that he hath many gods of less power, which are called *minores dii*, to govern the world under him. But they lie: for they be no gods, because they be ministers under him; no more than the officers under the king, as chancellors, mayors, presidents, judges, shrives, bailies, and constables, are kings. God is not like a man; he worketh all things without hands, without any weariness or pain; neither doth time measure his works, with whom it is, *dixit et facta sunt*, "He spake the word and it was done." Wherefore he neither hath need to rule under him, neither can any such be gods. Whereof it must needs

Psal. cxlviii.

[1] Ensample, 1550; example, 1560.]
[2] Lesser, 1550; less, 1560.]

follow, that the world is governed by one God. No city is well ordered, but of one mayor; no host of men, but of one general captain. Wherefore the Greeks, sailing unto the famous city of Troy, chose Agamemnon to be king of kings, and willed all to be obedient unto him. If in one host there be so many chief captains as there be thousands; if every have his captain whom he must only obey, no order, no array can be kept: for every captain will be with his men where him listeth; and every one of them will refuse to endanger himself and his men, and will pass the jeopardy to him that is next. Even so, except by one God the whole world be governed, all things will decay and perish. If it be true, which is commonly said among men, *Omnis potestas impatiens est consortis*, that 'power receiveth no fellowship;' how much more is it true in that ineffable power which appertaineth to God, whose highness receiveth no fellowship of any other! What a king is to his realm, that God is in the world. One realm hath but one king[3]: so one world hath but one God. For this cause and other, the scriptures use to call him a king. No ship is well governed of many masters, no flock of many shepherds, no school of many schoolmasters, no city of many mayors, no host of many captains, no kingdom of many kings. All things stand and are preserved by an unity. And Virgil recordeth this thing, saying:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes, [Æneid. vi. 724—7.]
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

"First heaven, and earth, and clay-fields indeed,
With moon and stars, the spirit within doth feed:
The mind spread through the veins eke moves the mole,
Mixing itself unto the body whole."

The poet Virgil beareth record that there is but one God. For one body hath but one mind, and God is the mind of the world. Wherefore, as there is but one world, so there is but one God. And that no man should misdeem this spirit and mind of which he speaketh, not to be God, he expoundeth these words in another place, saying:

[3 *King* omitted from the edition of 1560.]

[Georg. iv. 221, 222.]

Deum namque ire per omnes,
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.

"God goeth through all, seen or unseen with eye;
Through earth, and sea, through heaven deep and high."

[Metam. i. 17—19.] Ovid also, in his book called *Metamorphoses*, witnesseth, that one God formed all things of a confused heap. I do not call poets to witness, that I think any credit to be given to their words, but to shew that this thing is so manifest a truth, that they which were blind did see it.

But as I have spoken of poets, so will I speak of the philosophers. Thales Milesius, one of the seven famous wise men, held opinion, that water is the stuff and matter of which all things were made, and that God formed them thereof; granting both one God to be maker of all things, and also telling whereof. For the scriptures call the confused heap of which all things were made, by the name of 'water'; as it is written, "The Spirit of God was borne upon the waters." Pythagoras also defineth God to be a mind, filling and ruling all the portions of the world. And one body hath but one mind; wherefore the world hath but one God. For God is a mind, and the world is the body. He also said, that the number of three was the beginning of all things: teaching the people of his time that God is a Trinity, in a riddle and obscure speech, because it would not be borne openly. If there were many worlds, as some think, it were some probability to say there were many Gods. Parmenides thinketh, that there is but *unum ens*. The noble and worthy philosopher, Aristotle, departing out of this life, prayed unto the same *ens*, saying: *Ens entium, miserere mei.* And well may God be called *ens*, who only is of himself, and all things have their being of him. Plato also saith, that the governance of this world is a monarchy, and that God only both made and ruleth it. Hermes Trismegistus teacheth the same thing; and that he is unsearchable. Marcus Tullius, the famous orator, agreeth with them; who teacheth that God is, *Mens soluta quædam et libera, et segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens, et omnia movens*; that is to wit: 'God is a simple mind, neither being made of matter and form, neither mingled with accidents, knowing all things, and ordering them.'

Thales. [Cicero De Nat. Deor. Lib. i. c. 10.]

Gen. i.

Pythagoras. [Cicero De Nat. Deor. Lib. i. c. 11.]

Parmenides.

Aristotle.

Plato.

Hermes. [Lib. xii. edit. Lond. 1611.]

Tullius. [Tusc. Quæst. i. c. 27.]

The sibyls also taught the same in old time; which were women that did prophesy before the coming of our Saviour Christ, so called because they did disclose many of God's secrets: for the Æolians call the gods *Sious*, not *Theous*; and counsel or secrets, not *Boulen*, but *Bullen*: and there were ten of them. The most famous of them, which was called Erythræa, saith thus of God:

Sibylla Erythræa.

Εἷς Θεὸς, ὃς μόνος ἄρχει, ὑπερμέγαθης, ἀγένητος.

[Sibyl. Orac. lib. i. pp. 33, 38. Edit. 1555.]

"One God alone there is, I wot,
Both infinite, and unbegot."

Who is called also, for the same skill, *ametor* and *apator*, 'motherless and fatherless.' She witnesseth also, that this God made heaven, and garnished it with lights; made earth and the waters, saying:

Ἀλλὰ θεὸς μόνος εἷς, πανυπέρτατος, ὃς πεποίηκεν
Οὐρανὸν ἠέλιόν τε, καὶ ἀστέρας, ἠδὲ σελήνην,
Καρποφόρον γαῖάν τε, καὶ ὕδατος οἴδματα πόντου.

"There is alone one chief God, which did make
The heaven, the sun, the moon, and eke the stars,
The steady earth, and sea floods that shake,
With all fruit bearing trees, &c."

And that he is only to be honoured, and none other thing:

Αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα σέβεσθ' ἡγήτορα κόσμου,
Ὃς μόνος εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη.

"Him only worship ye,
That ruleth the world alone,
Which hath from the beginning be,
And ever shall be, one."

And she bringeth a reason why, forasmuch as he is governor of the world, and only without beginning and ending. Another sibyl also crieth, that this is the voice of God:

Εἷς μόνος εἰμὶ Θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ Θεὸς ἄλλος.

"I am one God, myself alone,
And, beside me, God is there none."

Apollo also, whom the foolish people for his wisdom Apollo.

supposed to be God, worshipping him as God after his death, when he was demanded what God was, made this answer:

Αὐτοφυὴς, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος,
Οὔνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενον, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,
Τουτὶ θεὸς, μικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.

"He that is of himself, and of none other,
Whom nought can hurt, who never had a mother,
Whose name can by no means be full exprest,
Who in the fire doth live, and take his rest,
Lo, this is God: as for th' angels and we
Of this great God a right small portion be."

Be not discontent, gentle reader, that I mingle the sayings of philosophers and poets with the verity of the scriptures. For Paul citeth poets to fortify God's providence, saying: "In him we live, move, and have our being; as certain of your own poets say, For we are also his generation." The prophets also make relation of giants, and of the valley of Titans. Esay telleth of the mermaids, and of the daughters of sparrows; and Jeremy saith of Babylon, that the daughters of mermaids shall dwell in it. The wise man also speaketh of them. Ezechiel mentioneth the destruction of Gog and Magod; which all be spoken of much in poets. The scriptures also use to teach us truth by fables; as the parable of trees in the book of Judges witnesseth, and many other.

Acts xvii.

But to turn to our matter: there is but one God, forasmuch as all men confess him to be a Father, both because he is the fountain of all things, and also giveth all necessaries to men as a father. But it is against nature for any man to have many fathers; wherefore it is against nature to worship many gods. He is a Lord also, and a Master; for to him belongeth to avenge and punish: but no man can serve two masters. Wherefore if God be to be honoured, he is one god, not many. If there be many, there can be no God which only is to be honoured.

God is a Father.

Luke xvi.

But how can the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, being three, be one God? Truly, because they are one mind, one spirit, one substance, and cannot be separate. The Father is, as it were, a plentiful spring or fountain; the Son is a river gushing out of it. The Father is the sun;

How the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, be one God.

Christ is the beam issuing out of it. The beam cannot be separate from the sun, nor the river from the spring. Christ also is the hand of God, and the holy Comforter is his finger: the hand and finger are not separate from the body. I will declare this with a familiar example. If a father have a son, whom he loveth so much that he maketh him ruler of his house, yet the house is said to be governed by one master and ruler, not many. So the world is the house of one God; and the Father and the Son, because they disagree neither in nature ne in will, are one God. The king's image is called the king, and Christ's image Christ; and yet they be not two kings, nor two Christs: so the Father and Christ are one God, for Christ is the Father's image; no dead image, for he is life and resurrection; nor counterfeit, for he is truth; nor dumb, for he is the word.

But the Arians reply, that as Isay, David, and Salomon, are of one substance, and yet they be three men, not one man; that so, albeit the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be one in substance, yet they are not one God. I answer, that Isay, David, and Salomon, are called three men, not one man; because every one of them, although they be of one substance, hath a diversity in time, in knowledge, in bigness, in place. For there can be no unity where there is diversity. But the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one God, forasmuch as there is no diversity among them. They are all three immortal, of like knowledge and majesty, and not contained in place, but fillers of all places. Many also are called by the name of 'man': as, "the Lord is my helper, I care not what man may do unto me:" and, "It is better to trust in God than in man." But in men there is unity of certain things only; as of nature, or love, or faith. General unity belongeth only to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: wherefore they be one God.

An objection.

The answer.

Psal. cxviii.

Further, that the Father and Christ are one God, the prophet Esay teacheth, saying: "The Lord hath said moreover, the occupiers of Egypt, the merchants of the Morians and Sabees, shall come unto thee with tribute, they shall be thine: they shall follow thee, and go with chains upon their feet. They shall fall down before thee, and make supplication unto thee: for God is in thee; and there is

Isai. xlv.

no other God beside thee." God the Father speaketh these words to Christ, who is one God with the Father, for the Father is in him; and saith that there is no God beside him. If thou deny them to be one God, thou deniest the divinity of the Father, who saith to Christ, "God is in thee; and there is no God beside thee;" because he is
John xiv. in his Son, for it is written, "The Father that dwelleth in me, is he that doeth the works; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me." There is no God beside him, because they both are one God. God is in God, and yet there be not two Gods; and the Lord is in the Lord, and yet they be not two Lords: for we are forbidden to
Luke xvi. serve two Lords, *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire.* But both the Father and Christ are to be honoured and served.
Matt. ii. For of Christ it is written, that "the three wise men kneeled down and worshipped him, and opened their treasures, and offered unto him gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh:" by gold, confessing him to be a king; by frankincense, to be God; and by myrrh, to be man: neither are they blamed
Matt. xv. therefore. A woman of Cane worshippeth[1] him, and obtaineth her request. And Paul, in the beginning of all his letters,
Rom. i. Gal. i. professeth himself to be the servant of Jesu Christ; wherefore he is to be honoured: and then he is one God with
Matt. iv. the Father; for it is written, "Thou shalt worship the
John xiii. Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." "You call me," saith Christ, "Lord and Master, and ye say well;
Matt. xxiii. for so am I." And he warneth us, that we call not one another Master; for one is our Master.

The apostle also witnesseth, that there is but one divinity, one power and majesty of Christ and the Father, saying,
1 Cor. viii. "Although there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet unto us is there but *unus Deus*, one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and *unus Dominus*, one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." For as in that he saith, that there is but "one Lord Jesus Christ," the Father is not denied to be Lord; so these words, "unto us there is but one God, which is the Father," deny not Christ to be God. He numbereth not him among those which are Gods by nuncupation; but

[1 Worshippeth, 1550; worshipped, 1560.]

joineth and coupleth him with the Father, from whom he is unseparable. The prophet Baruch saith of him: "He is our God, and there is none other able to be compared unto him." Wherefore, either we must grant him to be one God with the Father, or else make the Father underling to his Son; for none is to be compared to him. That the prophet speaketh these words of Christ, the same text following sheweth: "It is he that hath found out all wisdom, and hath given her unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and dwelt among men." This text declareth also, that Christ governed the congregation of the Israelites; in that he saith, "He found out all wisdom, and gave her unto Jacob and Israel." Read that chapter, and thou shalt find, that he prepared the earth at the beginning, and filled it with all manner of fowls and beasts; and that he governeth the same; and that he wotteth all things; that he is great, and hath no end, high and unmeasurable; which things all prove him one God with the Father; as he testifieth of himself, saying to his Father, *Hæc est vita æterna*, &c. "This is life everlasting, that they might know the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ;" that is, that they might know thee and Jesus Christ, to be the only true God. Neither doth 'only' here deny the Holy Ghost to be one God with them; forasmuch as he is of the same essence that they be, for he proceedeth of them both; no more than the Father is excluded by the same word, and the Son, where it is written, "The things of God knoweth none, but the Spirit of God." The Father and Christ are not excluded from that knowledge, which is said here to appertain only to the Holy Ghost. So whensoever they two are said to be the only true God, the almighty Comforter is not denied to be God also with them.

Baruch iii.

John xvii.

1 Cor. ii.

We read in the Revelation of St John, of a name which none knew, but he only who had it written, that is Christ: and yet both the Father knew it, who knoweth all science, and the almighty Comforter also, "for he searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." Wherefore, when Moses crieth, "Hearken, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God;" when all the prophets preach, that there be no more Gods but one; the divine nature and essence is not denied

Rev. xix.

Ecclus. xlii.

to Christ and to the almighty Comforter, no more than dominion and lordship is denied to the Father, because Paul
1 Cor. viii. saith, "To us is but one Lord Jesus Christ." So God is
1 Tim. vi. said only to have immortality; and yet neither Christ is
John viii. mortal[1], who saith unto the rebellious Jews, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my word, he shall never see death;" for if the keeping of Christ's word lead us to immortality, how much more is he himself immortal, without beginning or end!—neither the holy Comforter; for of him
Heb. ix. Paul writeth, "If the blood of oxen and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer, when it was sprinkled, purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, which through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto God, purge your consciences from dead works, to serve the living God!" So God is said
Luke v. 1 Tim. i. 1 Tim. vi. Luke xviii. only to forgive sin, only to be wise, only to be mighty, only to be good; which texts and sayings are spoken of the glorious Trinity. If they were spoken of the Father only, as the Arians teach, then the evangelist would have said, "Who can forgive sins, but the Father only?" and, "None is God, save the Father only." Paul also saith not, "Unto the Father wise only," but, "Unto God, king everlasting, immortal, invisible, and wise only," that is, to the blessed Trinity, "be honour and praise for ever and ever." For if we take him otherwise, we make him a liar, who granteth power, immortality, and wisdom, in diverse and sundry places, both to Christ our Saviour, and to the Spirit the Comforter. And these things do only appertain and belong to them three; neither are they attribute to any other. Whereupon it must needs follow, that they be one God. Nothing proveth this more plainly than the Hebrew text, whersoever the scripture crieth unto us that there is but one God.
Deut. vi. Moses saith unto the Israelites, *Jehovah Elohim, Jehovah echad;* that is, "The Lord our God is one God," or "one Lord." This text cannot be spoken of the Father only; for the Hebrew word for God is *Elohim*, of the plural number, not of the singular; to teach us, that there be three unconfounded; which nevertheless are declared to be one God, and of one essence, majesty, and power, for so much as they are *Jehovah echad.* For Jehovah is the

[1 Mortal, 1550; immortal, 1560.]

peculiar, special, honourable, and most blessed name of God, for which the Jews did use to read *Adonai:* not that it could not be expressed in their language, but for a more reverence to God's name. Moses also saith in another place: "Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that the Lord is God, and that there is none but he:" where, as for God, the English, he useth *Elohim*, so for the Lord, he useth *Jehovah*. Esay the prophet doth likewise; speaking of one God, and rejecting all other. Wherefore the Trinity is one, everlasting, and the only immutable, invisible, and Almighty God.

Deut. iv.

Isai. xliv. xlv.

I will prove this to be true in these four words; power, name, light, virtue. For the Father is Almighty; as it is written, "I am the Lord Almighty." And the Son also is Almighty; for the wise man calleth him, "The Almighty hand," and "The Almighty word" of God. The holy Comforter also is Almighty; forasmuch as he is, "The finger of God:" wherefore they are one God.

Gen. xvii. Wisd. xi. Wisd. xviii.

They have one name.

They have also one name; for the apostles are command to christen all nations in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Note here, that the scripture saith, "In the name," not "In the names;" and to teach us that there is one divinity, one majesty, and one name, of the three persons, the scripture telleth, that Christ and the Holy Ghost come not in divers and sundry names, but in one name. Christ saith, "I come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not." This name of the Father is Christ's name also; for the Lord saith, in the book of Departure, to him: *Ego antecedo in nomine meo, et vocabo te nomine meo Domini, in conspectu tuo;* that is, "I will go before thee in my name, and I will call thee by my name Lord, in thy presence." Thou learnest here, that Christ and his Father have one name: learn also, that the almighty and all-knowing Comforter hath the selfsame name, in that he cometh in the name of Christ; as it is written, "That Comforter, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name." He is sent in Christ's name; wherefore he hath one name with him and the Father. This is the name of the blessed Trinity, of which it is written, "There is no other name under heaven, in which we must be saved:" wherefore they have but one divinity.

Matt. xxviii.

John v.

[Exod. xxxiii.]

John xiv.

Acts iv.

I will prove the same of those things which the scripture
1 John i. saith of God. "God is light," saith John, "and in him is no darkness." Christ also is light: for of John the Bap-
John i. tist it is written, "He was not the light, but to bear witness of the light, which lighteth all men coming into the world."

God is light. 1 John i.
Christ is the true light. John i.
Ergo, Christ is the true God.

Of the almighty Comforter also it is written: *Signatum*
Psal. iv. *est super nos lumen*, "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is sealed upon us." But who is the light sealed? Who is the seal? That is the Holy Ghost; of whom Paul writeth,
Eph. i. "Ye are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance." Note also, that he is not another light, but the same light that the Father is; for he is the light of his countenance: wherefore he is the same God, and one God with the Father and the Son. But some fellow will ask me, where I find the Father to be light. Truly,
Heb. i. in Paul, who calleth Christ "the brightness of everlasting light;" where by everlasting light the Father is meant.

God is virtue. Christ also is virtue; for Paul calleth him, *Dei virtutem*
1 Cor. i. *atque sapientiam*, "The virtue and wisdom of God." We read also, that the Father is virtue; where it is written,
Matt. xxvi. *Videbitis Filium hominis ad dextram virtutis*, "Ye shall see Christ, ye shall see the Son of Man on the right hand of the virtue, or power." And that the Holy Ghost is virtue, Christ witnesseth, saying, *Accipietis virtutem advenientem in*
Acts i. *vos Spiritus sancti*, "You shall receive virtue, or power, of the Holy Ghost." Luke also speaketh this of the Holy
Luke vi. Ghost, *Virtus exibat de eo*, "Virtue gushed out of him." Wherefore they be one God.

God is life. John xiv. The Son is life; who saith, "I am the way, truth, and life." So the Father also is life; as John witnesseth, saying,
1 John i. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life: for the life appeared, and we have seen, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father." Here he named our Saviour Christ "the Word of life," and

"eternal life." But what meaneth he by calling him "the Word of life," than that he is the Word of the Father? Wherefore the Father also is life. And if so be the apostle call Christ life, why is not the all-knowing Comforter life, who is the Spirit of life? as it is written, "The Spirit of life was in the wheels." Note here, reader, that Christ is not another life, but the same life that the Father is, inasmuch as he is that eternal life which was with the Father. For if he be one life with the Father, then must he needs be one God with him. Ezek. i.

God is a flood or stream. Isai. lxvi.

The Father also is a flood; as he recordeth of himself, "I will flow upon you like a waterflood of peace, and like a flowing stream." And Christ calleth the almighty Comforter a flood, saying, "Out of his belly shall flow rivers of water of life; (this spake he of the Spirit)." Wherefore the Holy Ghost is a flood, or stream, and that a mighty and great flood, washing and cleansing the heavenly city of Hierusalem from all filth and uncleanness; as David witnesseth, "There is a flood, which with his rivers rejoiceth the city of God, the holy dwelling of the Highest." No other stream can wash, purify, and cleanse us, but this. God grant that this flood may overflow the banks of England! God send it into the court, and into the king's chamber, into his heart, and into his council's chamber, and into the middest of the parliament house, to wash and banish away all covetousness in spiritual things, as ferming of benefices, pluralities of prebends and personages, absence from cures, from colleges, impropriations, first-fruits, &c., and partiality, and the greedy wolf of ambition, pride, unmercifulness and oppression, out of the hearts of nobility. God send it into the hearts of bishops, that they may once again yet be preaching prelates; and all priests, that they may pour forth clean and pure doctrine, as diligently as they have poured holy water many a day. The Holy Spirit is the true holy water, the true flood, washing away our sins; not the unprofitable ceremonies of the sire of Rome. Wherefore our Saviour Christ must needs be a flood also; for out of him gush these streams of eternal life. John vii.

They have one grace.

They have also one operation, and they do work all things unseparably, as I have proved in the chapter before, where I declared man's soul to be the image of God. Wherefore they have one divinity. Moreover it is written:

Gal. i. "Grace with you and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ." Behold, thou seest here, that one grace cometh from the Father and the Son, and one peace likewise. The same also come from the Holy Ghost; for of
Gal. v. peace it is written, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering:" and Zachary calleth him the Spirit of grace: God hath promised to "pour upon Hierusalem the Spirit of grace and mercy." And Peter saith to those that were pricked in their hearts through his preaching, *Accipi-*
Acts ii. *etis gratiam Spiritus sancti*, "You shall receive the grace of the Holy Ghost."

One charity. They have also one charity and one love; for of the
John xiv. Father and the Son it is written, "Who loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him;" and of the holy Comforter, "The fruit of the Spirit is love." Through this love of all the three persons, Christ suffered death that we
John iii. might live; for of the Father it is written, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son;" and of Christ,
Gal. ii. "I live by the faith of the Son of God, which loved me, and gave himself for me;" the Spirit also gave him, for Paul
Heb. ix. saith of Christ, "Which through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto God."

One counsel. They have also one counsel; for Esay calleth the Holy
Isai. xi. Ghost, "The spirit of counsel and strength;" and Christ is called, *Angelus magni consilii*, "An angel of great counsel," because he is the wisdom of God. They are of one will: they command and forbid one thing; their calling is not divers, but one. And as the Father is called Lord, so is
Judg. xiv. the holy Comforter, so is Christ. We read that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Sampson, whom he calleth also his 'strength', saying, "If my hair were cut off, my strength would go from me." But after that his seven locks were cut
Judg. xvi. away, the scripture saith, that the Lord departed from him; calling the Spirit which governed him, 'Lord'.

If they have one nature, one kingdom, one power, one counsel, one operation, one name, one virtue, one life, one peace, one grace, one commandment, one vocation, one will; and seeing they be one light, one charity, one stream, and one Lord, how can they be divers Gods? There is a general unity of all things in them; wherefore they must needs be one God also.

I trust now it be sufficiently fortified and established, that there is but one God of heaven and earth, who governeth and ordereth all things. Natural reason proclaimeth this, as it were out of some high place, unto all creatures. His almighty and everlasting power proveth the same. The poets confess and grant him to be, alone; the philosophers condescend to them; the Sibyls magnify and acknowledge him; the false gods of the Pagans themselves confess him; the prophets of the true God evermore taught this; the evangelists and apostles fortify the same; nature preacheth one God, which acknowledgeth one world; faith telleth us the same, for there is but one faith of both testaments, as the apostle witnesseth; and baptism also, for there is but one bath of holy baptism, which is ministered in the name of the Trinity. The glorious death of many thousands of martyrs, both of men, children, women, and virgins, which by no manner of torments could be plucked away from this faith, have sealed it; and the constant and stedfast consent, agreement, and conspiration of all times and nations, with one mind and accord hath enacted this; so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER.

All the parts of the definition made of God are proved to agree unto Christ.

As I have spoken of all three persons of the blessed Trinity together, so now for a more evident proof of my last content, I will fortify out of the store-house of the scriptures, that all the parts of my definition made of the only King of kings, immortal and almighty God, do belong and appertain also both unto Christ, and to the all-knowing and most blessed Comforter.

The first parcel of my definition was, "God is a spiritual substance." That Christ is a substance, no man will deny; Christ is a substance.

for he is no accident. Read my twenty-third chapter[1], and there thou shalt find this thing proved. But how can you prove that he is a spiritual substance? The prophet Jeremy saith, *Spiritus ante faciem nostram, Christus Dominus;* that is, "The Spirit before us, Christ the Lord." Note, that he calleth him both a Spirit and Lord. If he[2] be no spirit, he cannot be God, for God is a Spirit: and inasmuch as he is a spirit and a substance, he is a spiritual substance; not touching his humanity, but touching that nature in which he is Lord; as the prophet declareth very well, saying, "The Spirit before us, Christ the Lord:" meaning that he is Lord, in that he is a Spirit; for the Lord is a Spirit.

Lam. iv.

Christ is a spirit.

2 Cor. iii.

"Pure nature" followeth in the definition. By the word 'pure' is meant, that God is one and a singular substance, not mixed, not compost. Either Christ is such a substance, or else he is a creature. If he be a creature, then is he subdued to vanity, not willingly; for the apostle witnesseth, *Quippe vanitati creatura subjacet, non volens.*

A single nature and not mixed.

Rom. viii.

Every creature is subdued to vanity.
Christ is not subdued to vanity.
Ergo, Christ is no creature.

That Christ is not subdued to vanity, I prove thus:

John xiv.

The ruler of this world came, and found nothing in him.
Ergo, he is not subdued to vanity.

But some Arians will say, that he was subdued unto vanity, in that he took our nature upon him, to restore us when we were forlorn: for the preacher crieth of all things under heaven, "All is but vanity, all is but plain vanity." Albeit this were truly spoken, yet cannot St Paul's saying be verified of Christ; who saith, "Every creature is subdued unto vanity, not willingly." Christ took our nature willingly, restored us willingly by his precious death and passion, as he himself doth testify: "No man doth take my life from me, but I put it away myself." Wherefore he is no creature. Ergo, he is a pure, simple, and single nature, without all mixture or composition.

Eccles. i.

[1] Twenty-third, 1550; twenty-fourth, 1560.]
[2] He, 1550; there, 1560.]

"Immutable:" Paul telleth us, that he is immutable. For in his letter to his countrymen he witnesseth, that the Father speaketh these words of the hundredth and first[3] psalm unto Christ: "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thy hands: they shall perish, but thou shall endure: they shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same," that is, unchangeable, "and thy years shall not fail." Lo, the Father witnesseth that Christ is immutable. We read also, *Jesu Christus heri et hodie idem est, etiam in secula*, "Jesus Christ, yesterday and to-day, and the same continueth for ever." This property, belonging to no creature, proveth him God: for

Heb. i. Psal. cii.

Heb. xiii.

God only is immutable.
Jesus Christ is immutable.
Ergo, Jesus Christ is God.

"Invisible:" this is another property which the scriptures give unto God. Christ is a Spirit, touching one nature. Then if all spirits, if our souls, be invisible, how much more is Christ invisible, the maker of spirits and souls! Paul calleth him, touching this nature, *virtutem Dei*, "the virtue, or power of God." Wherefore he is invisible, unsearchable. Paul in the same place calleth him "the wisdom of God;" and the wisdom of God is unsearchable.

1 Cor. i.

There followeth in the definition, "filling heaven and earth." This also belongeth unto Christ, for of him it is written: "Wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily, and ordereth all things lovingly." Hearken also what he saith unto his disciples: "Wheresoever two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the middest of them." This proveth him to be the true God: for no creature can be everywhere.

He filleth heaven and earth.

Wisd. viii.

Matt. xviii.

"Full of understanding:" he is "the wisdom of God." "Full of truth:" "I am the way, truth, and life." "Full

Wisd. viii. 1 Cor. i. John xiv.

[3] Hutchinson follows the numeration of the Septuagint and the Vulgate: in our arrangement of the Psalms, which adheres to the Hebrew, this is the 102nd.]

[4] These references are introduced into the text of the edition of 1550, as well as inserted in the margin.]

of righteousness:" *Pater non judicat quemquam, sed omne judicium dedit Filio,* "The Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment unto Christ;" who in the last day shall appear, both unto good men and evil, in that form in which he suffered, not in his divine nature. The Father is said to judge no man, because neither he nor his Son in his divinity shall be seen in judgment; for their divinity is all one. Then Christ is full of righteousness, forasmuch as he shall judge the world in his humanity; unto whom the Father saith, "God, thy seat shall be for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickedness." "Full of mercy:" "The wisdom from above is full of mercy." When he was "equal with God, he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the shape of a servant," for our sakes, which were his enemies. "Full of wisdom:" "In Christ are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." "Full of all manner of goodness:" "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily;" and, "Of his fulness have all we received, grace for grace." James also witnesseth, that "the wisdom from above is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits."

John v.

Psal. xlv. Heb. i.

James iii.[1] Philip. ii.

Col. ii.[1]

Col. ii.

John i.

James iii.

The next property of God is to be "eternal." This belongeth to Christ; for he is the beginning of all things, he is the progress or middle course, and he is the end and prick. The beginning and ending; for he saith, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending." And he is the middle course, in that he saith, "I am the way." He promiseth life without end to such as keep his word, saying, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my word, he shall never see death:" therefore he himself must needs be immortal.

John xiv.

John viii.

Nothing is without end and beginning, save God only.
Christ is without beginning and end.
Ergo, Christ is God.

There followeth in the definition of God, "maker of all things." That Christ made all things, Paul recordeth, saying: "For by him were all things created; things that are

Col. i.

[1] These references are introduced into the text of the edition of 1550, as well as inserted in the margin.]

in heaven, and things that are in earth, things visible, and things invisible; whether they be majesty, or lordship, either rule, or power."

He that made all things is God. Heb. iii.
Jesus Christ made all things. Col. i.
Ergo, Jesus[2] Christ is God.

Then it followeth in the same description, "subject to nothing, and governing all things." He is subject to nothing; for we read of him, "He that cometh from heaven is above all." John iii. He governeth all things; for he saith, "Whatsoever the Father doth, that doth the Son also:" John v. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work:" "Whatsoever we ask the Father in his name, he will do it:" and, "Without him we can do nothing." This declareth him to be God by nature; not by nuncupation only, as they of whom it is written, *Ego dixi, Dii estis*, "I have said, You are Gods." Psal. lxxxii.

It followeth, "knowing all things." Nothing hath this knowledge but God; as I have proved before. But we read, that Christ knew the inward thoughts and intents of men: "Jesus did not put himself in their hands, because he knew all men; and needed not that any should testify of them, for he knew what was in man." John ii.[3] He knew the hour of his death; Matt. xxvi. he knew that all his disciples should be offended in him that time; he knew that Peter would fall and rise again; he knew what would become of Judas; he opened the minds of his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures; Luke xxiv. and the disciples confess him to know all things, saying, "Now we know, that thou knowest all things, and needest not to ask any question." John xvi.

The next thing appertaining only to God is, "forgiving of sin:" for I have proved before that no creature can do this. But we read that Christ forgiveth sin, and is reviled of the Pharisees therefore; who also forgiveth many sins to Mary Magdalene, because she loved much. Mark ii. Luke vii.

"To be honoured:" John would have worshipped an angel, but the angel forbiddeth him; the wise men, the Cananite, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary of James, and other, Rev. xxii. Matt. ii. Matt. xv. Matt. xxviii.

[2] Jesus Christ, 1550; Christ, 1560.]

[3] This reference is introduced into the text of the edition of 1550, as well as inserted in the margin.]

worshipped Christ, and were not blamed therefore. And
Rom. i. Philip. i. Paul in his Epistles confesseth himself the servant, not of any angel or archangel, but of Jesus Christ. Wherefore he is one
Matth. iv. God with the Father: for one God only is to be worshipped.

There followeth in the definition of God, "to be called upon," and, "that he pondereth our desires." That Christ is to be prayed unto for all manner of things, the prophet
Isai. xi. Esay teacheth us, saying, "The root of Jesse shall be set up for a token: the heathen shall pray unto him." St Stephen
Acts vii. crieth unto him, "Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." Paul
Acts ix. asketh him, "Lord, Lord, what shall I do?" and he is taught. Paul also prayeth unto him and the Father together, saying,
1 Thes. iii. "God himself our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, guide
2 Thes. ii. our journey unto you." And again: "Our Lord Jesu Christ himself, and God our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in all doctrine and good doing." The apostle sheweth, that he is one God with the Father, and of equal power; in that he offereth one prayer to them both, and in that he putteth otherwhiles the Father foremost, and otherwhiles our Saviour
1 John i. Rom. x. Christ, justifying and saving us. Who justifieth and saveth us, but he who is our Saviour, our ransom, our spokesman, our mercy-stock, the end of the law to all believers? Of
Jer. xxxiii. whom Jeremy saith: "This is the name that they shall call him, The Lord our justifier."

"Almighty" followeth, and endeth the definition. If it
Philip. iv. be true, which Paul saith, "I can do all things, through the help of Christ which strengtheneth me;" how much more is Christ almighty himself, of whom John writeth, *Dicit*
Rev. i. *Dominus omnipotens*, "The Lord almighty saith." And the
Wisd. xi. xviii. wise man calleth him the almighty hand, the almighty arm, the almighty word, of God. Seeing, therefore, the scriptures do continually preach one God, and the same do grant all things belonging to the majesty of the Godhead, unto Jesus Christ; either we must deny the Father to be the almighty and only invisible God, or else we must confess his Son, by verity and unity of nature, to be one God with him.

THE THIRTIETH CHAPTER.

All the parts of the same definition are proved to agree to the almighty Comforter and Spirit.

THE all-knowing Comforter also is one God with them both; forasmuch as it cannot be denied but that all and every one of the same things do appertain unto him. For a plain and evident proof of this, I will course over the definition, or rather description, of God once again; proving the same to be the definition of the holy Comforter.

God is a "spiritual substance:" so is the holy Comforter. That he is a Spirit, no man will deny: that he is a substance, not a godly motion or concitation, not an accident, I have proved in my twenty-fourth[1] chapter. He is also a "pure nature, unmixed, uncompost, uncreate;" for he is no creature, which all, and every one, are bond and servants unto their maker, not free nor at their liberty, as it is written: *Universa serviunt tibi*, "All things serve thee." The Holy Spirit speaketh this by David. He saith not *servimus*, we serve thee, but *serviunt*, they serve. Paul also saith, *Creatura liberabitur a servitute corruptionis*, "The creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption." But of the Holy Ghost it is written, *Ubi Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas*, "Where is the Spirit of the Lord, there is freedom." We read also of him, that he divideth to every man several gifts as he will. 1 Cor. xii.

Psal. cxix.

Rom. viii.

2 Cor. iii.

1 Cor. xii.

All creatures do serve: Psalm cxix.
The Holy Ghost is at liberty: 2 Cor. iii.
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is no creature.

And if he be no creature, he is a singular and pure nature, void of all composition and mixture.

"Immutable:" whatsoever is mutable[2] is a creature. "Invisible:" all spirits be invisible, but not immutable; for

[1 XXIIII, 1550; XXIII, 1560.]
[2 Mutable, 1550; immutable, 1560.]

to be both immutable and invisible appertaineth only to the majesty of God. Wherefore the Holy Ghost is God.

"Filling heaven and earth," followeth in the definition; which thing truly belongeth only to the divine and blessed nature: as the Psalmograph witnesseth, *Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus*, "The earth and the fulness thereof is the Lord's." And he saith by Jeremy, "I fill heaven and earth." Now, that the blessed Comforter doth so, the book of Wisdom telleth, saying, "The Spirit of the Lord filleth the round compass of the world;" and David teacheth the same, saying, "Whither shall I go then from thy spirit? whither shall I go from thy presence? If I climb up into heaven," &c. What angel, what archangel, what rule, what power, what creature, is said to fill the world? the which the holy Comforter doth: yea, and more than the whole world, for he filleth the Saviour of the world, as it is written, "Christ, full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan."

Psal. xxiv. Jer. xxiii. Wisd. i. Psal. cxxxix. Luke iv.

God only is everywhere:
The Holy Ghost is everywhere:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"Unsearchable." No man can comprehend what manner of thing his own spirit and soul is; and the mind, which almost judgeth and discusseth all things, is not able to discuss itself: much more the Spirit of the almighty God surmounteth our understandings, and not only ours, but also of angels and archangels; for of the Spirit David writeth, "God, which is thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." The Holy Ghost is this oil and anointment: for Peter witnesseth, that Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost. And well is the Holy Ghost named the 'oil of gladness,' lest thou shouldest suppose him to be a creature. For the nature of oil is such, that it will not be mingled with any moist creature, but heaveth aloft, and keepeth above, when other natures descend to the bottom.

Psal. xlv. Acts x. Why the Spirit is named oil.

"Full of understanding:" for he is the Spirit of understanding. "Full of truth:" for he is the Spirit of truth, which the world cannot receive, and which proceedeth from the Father; and of him it is written, "He shall teach you all truth." "Full of righteousness:" for as the Son is our

Isai. xi. Wisd. vii. John xiv. John xv.

judge, so judgment belongeth to the holy Comforter; as it is written, "When I depart I will send the Comforter unto you: when he is come, he shall judge the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." This text teacheth him to be a punisher of sin, an avenger of unrighteousness and wrong judgments. Noble king Salomon, through his inspiration, gave rightful judgment of the two infants. Daniel, except he had been inspired by him, could never have disclosed the lie of lechery. When Susanna was condemned unto death through the false accusation of the elders, she cried with a loud voice unto God, and obtained remedy. When she was led forth unto death, it is registered, that "the Lord raised up the spirit of a young child, whose name was Daniel," &c. Also the spirit of Moses was divided among seventy of the elders of Israel, that they might judge the people according to right. Wherefore the Holy Ghost, who both teacheth other to judge aright, and is a judge himself, must needs be full of all righteousness.

John xvi. Solomon. Susanna i. Num. xi.

"Full of mercy." He is full of mercy, forasmuch as he sent Christ to restore us, when we were forlorn, as the prophet telleth us in Christ's person, *Misit me Dominus et Spiritus ejus*, "the Lord sent me and his Spirit." His sending is his incarnation, as I have proved before. "Full of wisdom;" for he is the Spirit of counsel and wisdom. "Full of all manner of goodness." He is the Spirit of life, the Spirit of knowledge, wisdom, and understanding, counsel, strength, of the fear of God, of truth, of sanctification, of judgment, of adoption, of promise, of grace; and love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, and goodness itself, faithfulness, meekness, temperance, be the fruits and gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Isai. xlviii. Ezek. i. Isai. xi. John xv. Rom. i. Isai. iv. Rom. viii. Eph. i. Heb. x. Gal. v.

"Eternal." Many things be everlasting which had their beginning, as angels, as the soul of man, and other; but they are not eternal, for that appertaineth only to the majesty of the deity. That the holy and almighty Comforter is eternal, the apostle witnesseth, saying: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your consciences!" He is not content to call him 'eternal,' but telleth us also, that Christ through the Spirit offered himself a slain sacrifice for our sins. And we read, that Christ before the

Heb. ix. Eph. i.

foundation of the world chose us. Wherefore the holy Comforter, who was the work-master thereof, was before the foundation of the world. And forasmuch as he was before all, he hath no end; for that which is without all beginning, is also without ending.

God only is eternal:
The Holy Ghost is eternal:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Job xxvi. "Maker of all things." Job telleth, that "God with his Spirit garnished the heavens;" unto whom David agreeth, Psal. xxxiii. saying, "The Spirit of his mouth formed all the hosts of them." Wherefore in the work of creation Moses maketh Gen. i. relation of him, shewing us, that "the Spirit of God was borne upon the waters." Basil, who for his great learning was surnamed *magnus*, expoundeth this text of the Holy Ghost, and saith that his predecessors took it so[1]; and St Austin is of the same mind[2]; and Philip Melancthon alloweth their interpretation[3], as I declared before. For truly the word 'spirit' cannot signify wind in that place; the which, when these words were spoken, was uncreate. What is meant then by these words, "Borne upon the waters?" Verily, no blast of wind; but, that he sat on the waters. For as the hen sitting on her eggs hatcheth her young ones, so the Holy Ghost hatcheth all creatures, which Psal. civ. there are called 'waters,' as it is written: "When thou lettest thy Spirit go forth, they are made; so thou renewest the face of thy earth."

He that made all things is God: Heb. iii.
The Holy Ghost made all things:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Job also saith of him, *Spiritus divinus qui fecit me*, "The divine Spirit who made me;" confessing him both divine, and his maker. And as, when we read, *Opera manuum* Psal. cii. *tuarum sunt cœli*, "The heavens are the works of thy hand," we acknowledge Christ the maker of the world, who is God's hand; so, when we read, *Videbo cœlos tuos, opera digitorum* Psal. viii. *tuorum, lunam et stellas, quæ tu fundasti*, that is, "I will behold the heavens, the workmanship of thy fingers, the moon

[1] Vide p. 64. n. 1.] [2] Vide p. 65. n. 2.] [3] Vide p. 65. n. 3.]

and the stars, which thou hast made;" let us acknowledge also the Holy Ghost, God's finger, to be our maker, forasmuch as the same works, in other places, are called the works of God. For as, when the hand worketh, the fingers work also; so the whole Trinity formed all things of a confused heap, whose works be inseparable: as I have proved before.

"Governor of all things." The canticle of Moses recordeth, that he governed the congregation of the Israelites. For when they had passed over the sea, they gave hearty thanks for their deliverance to all the three Persons: to the Father and the Son, in these words, "Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorious in power, thy right hand hath also dashed the enemies;" and to the Holy Ghost, saying, "With the spirit of thine anger the water gathered together as a rock." For Christ is God's right hand; and by the word 'spirit' the Holy Ghost is meant; and in that he saith, 'Lord,' he signifieth the Father. Wherefore their deliverance is the workmanship of the whole Trinity, which worketh all things in heaven and earth. But the prophet Esay protesteth the governance of the Holy Ghost more plainly, saying: "Where is he who brought them from the water of the sea, as a shepherd doth his flock? where is he which led Moses by the right hand with his glorious arm? Where is he that led them in the deep, as an horse is led in the plain?" and he answereth, "The Spirit of the Lord led them, as a tame beast goeth in the field." The same Spirit governeth the present congregation; giving "to one utterance of wisdom, to another faith, to another gifts of healing, to another power to do miracles, to another prophecy, to another judgment of spirits, to another diverse tongues, to another interpretation," as the apostle witnesseth; which be necessary offices in the church.

Exod. xv.

Isai. lxiii.

1 Cor. xii.

Who gave Simeon an answer, that he should not see death before he had seen our spokesman, Jesus Christ? The Holy Ghost. Who leadeth the congregation into all truth? Who teacheth us all verity? The Holy Ghost. Who commandeth to separate Paul and Barnabas to the work whereunto he had called them; that is, to preach the sweet tidings of the gospel to the Gentiles? The Holy Ghost. Who forbiddeth them to preach in Asia? who commandeth Peter,

Luke ii.

Acts xiii.

Acts [xvi.]

to arise, and get him down, and go with Cornelius' servants? Who sent those servants unto Simon the tanner's house
Acts viii. for Peter? The Holy Ghost. Who monisheth Philip, the deacon, to join himself to the chariot of the eunuch[1], which was chamberlain to Candace, queen of the Ethiopians? The Holy Ghost. Do not these texts prove him to govern the congregation? to be mindful of both good and evil? Do they not deny him to be a creature? Do they not fortify him to be the third person in the glorious Trinity, and to be God? Yes, verily.

All things are governed by God:
The Holy Ghost governeth all things:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"Knowing all things," followeth: the which belongeth to
Isai. xi. the all-knowing Comforter, forasmuch as he is the Spirit of knowledge. The apostle witnesseth, that man neither by the help of his outward senses, nor through the gift of reason, can attain to the understanding of those things which are prepared for the chosen. He denieth this knowledge to the
1 Cor. ii. senses, saying, *Oculus non vidit, neque auris audivit*, "The eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard;" for these be the two principal powers: and to all man's reason and wisdom, by these words following, *Neque in cor*, "Neither hath entered into the heart of man the things," &c.; for the heart is the place of understanding. Angels also are igno-
Mark xiii. rant of some things, as of the last day and hour; which the Father knoweth only. But of the holy Comforter it is
1 Cor. ii. written, "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets." Paul is not content only to say this of the Spirit, but he addeth two arguments proving the same. The one is a similitude; that, as the spirit of man knoweth the things of man, so the Spirit of God knoweth the things of God; and all things be his; ergo, he knoweth all things. His other reason is, that the spiritual man through his inspiration discusseth all things.

He who knoweth all things is God:
The Holy Ghost knoweth all things:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

[1] The same alteration has been made here as in p. 136, and p. 158.]

The next property in my definition, belonging to God only, is "to forgive sin." How prove you that the Holy Ghost can do this? Hearken what Christ, our mercy-stock, saith: "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." Note, that the Holy Ghost pardoneth sin. No man can remit sin. They do only minister forgiveness in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. They pray, God pardoneth; they employ their service, remission and mercy cometh from above: as I have declared and proved in my chapter, that God only forgiveth sin. John xx.

Furthermore, "Ye[2] are washed," saith Paul, "ye are sanctified, ye are justified, by the name of the Lord Jesu, and by the Spirit of our God:" ergo, the Spirit forgiveth sin. The prophet Esay telleth, that "one of the seraphins, with a hot coal taken from the altar with tongs, touched his mouth, and his sin was molten away." He meaneth neither charcoal nor sea-coal, but the coal of the Holy Ghost; who may be well called a coal, for he is fire: wherefore the Holy Ghost doth forgive sin. No man can deny but that in baptism sins be forgiven. The Holy Ghost by baptism doth regenerate us, and make us God's children. For that we should believe him to be a worker in baptism with the Father and the Son, the bath of holy baptism is commanded to be ministered in this name also. And, for the same skill, it pleased the glorious Trinity he should appear notably at Christ's baptizing, in the likeness of a dove. And as for Christ, he was not baptized for any wrinkle of sin, but for our example and only erudition. Seeing, then, the Holy Ghost was a worker in Christ's baptism, much more he is worker at our christenings; which proveth him to forgive sins. 1 Cor. vi. Isai. vi. Matth. xxviii.

God only forgiveth sin:
The Holy Ghost forgiveth sin:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"To be called upon," and "prayed unto." The Holy Ghost is to be prayed unto; for what is baptism but an invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? As all three be named, so they all three hear the prayer of the minister, forgive the sins of him which is christened, and make him, of the child of damnation, the heir of salvation. Matth. xxviii.

[2] Yea, 1550; ye, 1560.]

That we should fastly and firmly believe this workmanship
Matth. iii. of the whole Trinity in our christenings, that [the?] three persons, every one, were present at Christ's baptizing, who had no need of baptism, I say, but only for our erudition and ensample. The Father notifieth himself in the voice which sounded; the Son, in man's nature; the all-doing Comforter appeared notably in the likeness of a dove. Why in the likeness of a dove, rather than of any other bird, is declared before. Moreover, the Holy Ghost both heareth our
Rom. viii. prayers, for he is everywhere; and he helpeth our infirmities, as the apostle witnesseth; ergo, he is to be prayed unto.
1 Cor. xii. Again, faith is his gift, prophecy is his gift, utterance, miracles, judgment, tongues, healing, be his gifts: and truth,
Isai. xi. for he is the Spirit of truth; and wisdom, counsel, sanctification, life, by the same reason; and love, joy, peace,
Rom. i. Ezek. i. Gal. v. patience, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance, be his graces and fruits, as is proved before; which proveth that he is to be prayed unto. For the scripture useth this reason to move us to pray unto God, that he is the giver of those things that are asked; as the apostle
James i. James, saying, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of
Eph. iii. God which giveth;" and Paul, "He is able to do abundantly above all that we ask or think." And Christ useth the same
John xv. reason, saying, "Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name[1], he will give it you." If the papists can shew that St Paul, and the blessed virgin, and other, now being with Christ touching their souls, and in the earth touching their bodies, do now give gifts and graces unto us, truly I would pray unto them to give me some. But who is able to prove this out of the scriptures? The Spirit knoweth all things, yea, the bottom of God's secrets; much more, the bottom of our hearts; ergo, he is to be prayed unto. Doth not he hear our prayers, which commanded to separate Paul and Barnabas unto the work whereunto he had called them?

Paul was called an apostle by God:
The Holy Ghost called Paul:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Preaching is a work. It is no trifle to preach, but an earnest work and labour;

[1] Ask my Father in my name, 1550; ask in my Father's name, 1560.]

and the labourer and workman is worthy of his wages. The work and office of salvation is unrewarded in England, and thought not necessary; which must needs bring in the unclean spirit of ignorance again. Therefore let us pray to the Holy Spirit to amend it, and to separate mo Pauls to this honourable work and office. It is a common saying, *Honos alit artes*, 'Rewards nourish arts;' and magistrates are ordained of God to maintain knowledge, to destroy ignorance and sin. I would wish that preachers were sent abroad into the country, as well as to cities and great towns; for they are the shop of Christ, as well as others: and that, as Christ disputed in the temple, and Stephen with the Libertines and Alexandrines, and Paul, when he went a preaching, disputed in the audience of the people against those that would not hear the truth; at Athens, with philosophers, and at Ephesus, and other places; that so now every preacher, which is known to be groundly learned, and separate to this office, when he cometh to any parish which hath a popish person or curate, that he should have authority to examine them in the sacraments, and other principal matters, and that they either acknowledge the truth before their parishes, or else be compelled to say their conscience and knowledge in open disputation with the preacher; so that the churchwardens of every parish be overseers of the same, for avoiding of tumult and disturbance. By this means papists and others should best be won and overcome; and the people should learn more of one disputation than in ten sermons. Further, if there be any suspected to be an Anabaptist in the said parishes, I would to God well-learned preachers were authorized to compel and call such to render account of their faith before the whole parish; and if it were found anabaptistical, that the preacher enter disputation with him, and openly convict him by the scriptures and elder fathers; and if he remain obstinate, the same preacher to excommunicate him; and then to meddle no further with him, but give knowledge thereof to the temporal magistrates; which, for civil considerations, may punish him with imprisonment, death, or otherwise, as their wisdoms shall judge most meet for a civil quietness and a godly order. Now both papists and Anabaptists complain, that they are put to silence, and the people have more affiance in their silence

Luke ii. Acts vi.

Acts xvii.

Acts xviii.

than in the preachers, and do think that they could persuade and prove their matters, if they might be suffered. But if this way were taken, it would appear most evident that all their doctrine were builded on the sand, not on the rock. There be many discreet and sober well-learned preachers, both in all the elder fathers and in the scriptures, which, if this way were taken, or another like, would confound all heretics, and beat down papistry, and discourage the best learned of them, and persuade the people after another sort than is done yet. Thus did the apostles; thus did the elder fathers, as Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and others; as appeareth of their works, which be either sermons to the people, lessons, homilies, or disputations against heretics.

Now if a preacher come and preach in a parish in the country, if the person, vicar, or curate be of a corrupt judgment, as the most deal be; by reason of the daily company and familiarity that they have with their parish, they do discredit the preacher when he is gone, and mar all that he hath done; which they neither could ne durst justify before his face. Therefore, I would it were remedied this way, or some other. Namely, if they be married men, then they will slander them, rail on them, frump them; yea, some noble and spiritual lords had rather retain[1] idle sodomites and dumb priests to their chaplains, than married preachers. They think it unmeet that such should be colligeners. Nay, it is unmeet that your chaplains should be prebendaries in cathedral colleges, deans, archdeacons, suffragans, and live so idly as they do; and you which keep them be guilty of their negligence, do oppress and rob the people of the word of God, and find your servants of their costs. It is unmeet for the king's chaplains and amners to be absent from these colleges, out of which they have great livings, and to do no good in the country about. It is not unmeet for married priests, present in the colleges, and doing their duties, to have their livings. I would the king's majesty would give his chaplains sufficient wages, and bind them to read a lecture of divinity every day, or thrice a week, in his hall. It were a noble order for a king's house to be a school of divinity, and godly example to all lords spiritual and temporal. Then they should be, as Esay calleth them, true nurses of religion.

Isai. xlix.

[1] Retain, 1550; receive, 1560.]

If such as be married were allowed their wages and commons to their own houses, and bound by some statutes to preach on holy days in the country about, it were much better than it hath been, or is. And yet, nevertheless, such as be single might keep a common table and a common hall; for all will not marry, no more than they do out of colleges. They should not live idly as they have done, and do; for Paul's rule is, that he which laboureth not, ought not to eat. And St Augustine[2], in his book entitled *De Opera Monachorum*, crieth out against idle colligeners. Were not this a better reformation than to suppress and put down colleges? O living God, this is a strange kind of surgery, a strange reformation, to sweep things away, to make that private which was common! Well! David saith, that God will make them like to Sisera and Jabin, like unto Ored and Zeb, which have the houses of God in possession; he will root out their generation utterly[3]. I speak not this of the uni-

Augustine.

Psal. lxxxiii.

Judg. vii.

[2 O servi Dei, milites Christi, itane dissimulatis callidissimi hostis insidias, qui bonam famam vestram, tam bonum Christi odorem, ne dicant animæ bonæ, "Post odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus," et sic laqueos ejus evadant, omni modo cupiens obscurare putoribus suis, tam multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit, circumeuntes provincias, nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes. Alii membra Martyrum, si tamen Martyrum, venditant; alii fimbrias et phylacteria sua magnificant: alii parentes vel consanguineos suos in illa vel in illa regione se audisse vivere, et ad eos pergere, mentiuntur: et omnes petunt, omnes exigunt aut sumptus lucrosæ egestatis, aut simulatæ pretium sanctitatis: cum interea ubicumque in factis suis malis deprehensi fuerint, vel quoquo modo innotuerint, sub generali nomine monachorum vestrum propositum blasphematur, tam bonum, tam sanctum, quod in Christi nomine cupimus, sicut per alias terras, sic per totam Africam pullulare. Nonne ergo inflammamini zelo Dei? Nonne concalescit cor vestrum intra vos, et in meditatione vestra exardescit ignis, ut istorum mala opera bonis operibus persequamini, ut eis amputetis occasionem turpium nundinarum, quibus existimatio vestra læditur, et infirmis offendiculum ponitur? Miseremini ergo et compatimini, et ostendite hominibus, non vos in otio facilem victum, sed per angustam et arctam viam hujus propositi regnum Dei quærere. Eadem vobis causa est quæ Apostolo fuit, ut amputetis occasionem iis qui quærunt occasionem; ut qui illorum putoribus præfocantur, in odore vestro bono reficiantur. Augustin. de op. Monach. c. 28. Opera VI. 498. Edit. 1679—1700.]

[3 This word is inserted as equivalent to the phrase used by the author.]

versities, but of cathedral colleges, and other, in which be sufficient livings to maintain married men.

But to return to our matter. Like syllogisms may be made of other matters; as, that

God delivered the children of Israel from the Egyptical bondage: Deut. v.
The Holy Ghost was their deliverer: Esay xxx.
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

Peter prayeth to the Holy Spirit.

If we ponder the circumstance diligently, we shall find that Peter prayed unto the Holy Ghost, when he fell into a trance, and saw heaven open, in Simon the tanner's house. He prayeth to him that saith, "What God hath cleansed make thou not common:" for it is written, "There came a voice to Peter, Arise, kill and eat; and he said, God forbid, Lord." But the Holy Ghost is he who cleansed, for he fell suddenly upon the gentiles to cleanse them; and he is called water, and a flood, for the same skill; ergo, he prayed to the Holy Ghost. It is to be supposed that Peter prayed unto him who answereth, and commandeth him in that trance to go to Cornelius; but it is written, that the Spirit commandeth him; ergo, he prayed to the Spirit. Also the Spirit sent Cornelius' servants unto Peter; for he saith unto him, "Go with them, and doubt not; for I have sent them." Wherefore it is probable that Cornelius also prayed unto the Spirit, albeit he knew him not well, for his requests were granted of him.

Acts x.

Moreover, the holy Comforter hath a temple, not of stone, ne of wood, but far more honourable; the bodies of the elect and chosen, for which Christ died; as it is written, "Your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, whom ye have of God, and ye are not your own, for ye are dearly bought: therefore glorify God in your bodies." Lo, he both giveth him a temple, and calleth him God; and is he not to be prayed unto and honoured? That the Holy Ghost is the true God, unto whom temples are erected and builded, the Acts of the Apostles declare with plain words. "Ananias," quod Peter, "how is it that Sathan hath filled thine heart to lie unto the Holy Ghost?" and he addeth, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." Lo, the Holy Ghost is God. So John calleth Christ the true God.

1 Cor. vi.

Hic est verus Deus, et vita æterna, "He is very God, and everlasting life." And, seeing there is but one God, the three Persons are that one God, which is only to be prayed unto, to be worshipped, and to whom we should dedicate both the temple of our bodies, and all temples of wood, stone, or other stuff; and to no saints departed, to no angels or archangels, for then we honour them, which is idolatry and robbery.

Temples are to be dedicate to God only.

God only hath a temple:
The Holy Ghost hath a temple:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"To be honoured." Nothing is to be honoured but God only; for it is written, *Servierunt creaturæ potius quam Creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in secula*, "They worshipped and served the creature more than the Maker, which is God blessed for evermore." He both monisheth us to serve God only, and reproveth such as honour creatures. Now, that the Holy Ghost is to be served and honoured, the same apostle witnesseth, saying: "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of dissension; for we are circumcision, serving the Spirit, which is God." Lo, Paul confesseth himself to be the servant of the Spirit. Some do read here, *Spiritu Deum colentes*, "Serving God in spirit;" but the Greek text discusseth that interpretation to be false, which is, οἱ πνεύματι Θεῷ λατρεύοντες, that is to say, "Worshipping the Spirit, which Spirit is God." If Paul had meant, *Quod spiritu Deum colebant*, 'that they in spirit served God,' he would have said, ἐν πνεύματι, as he said in the same place, καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες, "Rejoicing in Christ, and not trusting in flesh." For, that the Holy Ghost is to be worshipped, he declareth also, saying, "If all do prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is judged of every man, and the secrets of his heart are opened, and he falleth down on his face and worshippeth God, saying that God is in you indeed." But he who spake in them was the Holy Ghost, of whom prophecy cometh, and of whom it is written, "*Non estis vos qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris qui loquitur in vobis*, "It is not you which speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you." Wherefore, when they fall down and worship him

Rom. i.

Philip. iii.

1 Cor. xiv.

Matt. x.

Christ's flesh is to be worshipped.

which is in them, they worship the Holy Ghost. If the sweet flesh of our Saviour Christ be to be honoured, as we

Psal. xcix.

are commanded, *Adorate scabellum pedum meorum*, "Worship the footstool of my feet," the which is joined in unity of person to the divine nature, and promoted to the company and fellowship of the Deity; without all doubt the all-knowing Comforter is to be honoured, of whom this flesh was

Luke i.

conceived. For by the 'footstool' earth is understand, as

Isai. lxvi.

it is written, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is the stool of my feet;" and by the earth Christ's flesh is meant. To worship any other earth is idolatry: and well may his flesh

An objection.

be called so, for all flesh is earth. The Arians deny that the

John iv.

Holy Ghost is to be served, because John writeth, "The hour now is, when true worshippers shall honour the Father in spirit and truth; for such the Father seeketh to worship him. God is a spirit; and they that worship him, must

The answer.

worship him in spirit and in truth." If they deny the Holy Ghost to be honoured, because the evangelist doth not say, 'the Spirit is to be honoured,' but, 'God must be honoured in spirit,' they must deny likewise that Christ is to be

John xiv.

honoured, because he saith, 'that God must be worshipped in truth,' for Christ saith, "I am truth."

God only is to be served:
The Holy Ghost is to be served:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

"Justifying us:" Paul proveth the Spirit to be a justi-

1 Cor. vi.

fier, saying, "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, by the name of the Lord, and by the spirit of our God." "Almighty:" this belongeth to the Comforter, for he is the finger of God; or else the finger of God is weak: then is some impotency in his hand, in Christ; for whatsoever the hand doth, that doth the finger also. But Salomon calleth the Holy Ghost παντοδύναμον καὶ παντεπίσκοπον,

Wisd. viii.

that is, *omnipotentem et omniscium*, "almighty and all-knowing." He is the Lord of nature, and therefore he can do what him list; as Christ and the Father can.

God only is almighty:
The Holy Ghost is almighty:
Ergo, the Holy Ghost is God.

These syllogisms and brief arguments may be profitable helps[1] for the unlearned; as it were with a short dagger to dispatch and slay the blasphemous heresy of the Arians. I could dilate these things into a long volume, if I would; but my purpose is not at this present to write a defence of God, but an image. I do instruct a beginner, not a divine. I do arm a young soldier to faith and belief; not an old worn champion to battle and fight. Hereafter, when I shall see occasion, I will put forth a defence, with a confutation and answer to contrary reasons. Now I have proved out of the storehouse of the scripture, that there is but one definition of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: whereof it must needs follow, that they are but one God.

All things that agree in definition, agree in essence and nature:
The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have one definition:
Ergo, they have one essence and nature.

This doctrine destroyeth all the doctrine of the Arians, and proveth them consubstantial. But methink I hear some Patripassian reply, that if they agree in the definition, they are confounded, and are one person. They agree in the definition of God, not in the finition of paternity, or of a Son, or of a Holy Ghost; for neither Christ is the Father, nor the almighty and all-knowing Comforter is Christ. They be three unconfounded, and yet one God and Lord.

"O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercies, thou that hast made all things with thy word, and ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should have dominion and lordship over thy creatures which thou hast made; and hast willed thy angels to minister unto him, that he should order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with a true heart;" give to all thy people wisdom, which is ever about thy seat; endue them with the spirit of knowledge, of counsel, and understanding; as thou didst promise by thy sweet Son, that he should lead them into all truth: for we are thy servants and thy handmaidens, the works of thy fingers. O send him out of thy holy heavens and from the throne of thy majesty, that he may

Wisd. ix.

Isai. xi.

John xvi.

[1] Helps, 1550; helpers, 1560.]

govern us, that we may know what is acceptable in thy sight. For he knoweth and understandeth all things, and can lead us soberly in our[1] works, and preserve and continue us in his power: so shall our works be acceptable.

For what man is he that may know the counsel of God? or who can think what the will of God is? The thoughts of mortal men are miserable, and our forecasts are but uncertain. And why? Our understanding and spirit is depressed with the gross lump and dungeon of the corruptible body: our time is but a space, and short; very hardly can we discern the things that are upon earth, and great labour have we or we can find things which are before our eyes. Who will, then[2], seek out the ground of the things that are done in heaven?

O Lord, who can have knowledge of thy understanding and meaning, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Ghost from above, to reform and redress the ways of them which are upon earth, that men may learn the things that are pleasant unto thee, and to live lovingly one with another, every man being content with his own vocation, and follow the same, be preserved through wisdom[3]. Grant this, God, for thy Son's sake, Jesus Christ, our spokesman and advocate; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, dominion, honour, rule and thanksgiving, now in our days and ever. So be it.

FINIS.

[1 In our, 1550; in all our, 1560.]
[2 Than, 1550; then, 1560.]
[3 This sentence is printed as it stands in both editions.]

THREE SERMONS

ON

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

A FAITHFVL

DECLARATION OF

Chriſtes holy ſupper, compre-

hēded in thre Sermōs

preached at *Eaton*

Colledge, by Ro-

ger Hutchin-

ſon. 1552.

Whoſe contentes are

in the other ſyde

of the lefe.

¶ *Newly imprinted at London by*

John Day, dwelling ouer

Aldersgate.

1560.

Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ

maieſtatis per ſep-

tennium.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST SERMON.

The First Sermon sheweth why Christ ordained his supper after the eating of the Paschal lamb: that the Jews' Easter lamb was a figure of our sacramental bread and wine, a commemoration of their deliverance, and a sacrament of Christ's death: that the Jews had some continual rites and sacraments, and other some temporal: how their sacraments and ours, how their receipt and ours, do differ. Why God, who is immutable, disannulled their rites, and ordained new rites and new ceremonies for us. For what cause men absent themselves from Christ's banquet, to the which they should come, not annually, but continually: that, as it is best to come fasting thereto, so it is not evil, by occasion, to receive after meat and drink.

That 'to bless' is not to make a cross upon the sacrament, but to render thanks to God the Father for the remission of our sins through the Seed promised: that Christ ordaineth here no private mass, but a communion: and that the scriptures and the oriental church disallow all private receipt: that, as it is not evil to receive the holy sacrament at thy mouth, so it is better to take it in thy hands, as Christ and his apostles did, and the laity of the primitive Church.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND SERMON.

The Second Sermon declareth what a sacrament is: that the nature and matter of the signs remaineth: that Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, for three properties and similitudes, and not for any transubstantiation and mutation of their natures. That his body and blood are the sustenance of man's soul and spirit, which are not fed or nourished with corporal food. That both the spiritual eating, and the sacramental receipt, are necessary and com-

manded. That by our worthy receipt of the sacrament we are made Christ's body; not by faith only, but also really. What a testament is: what the new testament is, and what the old is. That the old Christians, before Christ's coming, did eat his body and drink his blood, as truly, as really, and as effectually, as we do. How Christ's body and blood be present in his holy supper: that they are not to be honoured, in the form of bread and wine, with elevation of hands, or kneeling; but by faith in them, by coming to his supper, by giving of thanks, and by offering unto him frankincense and myrrh, that is to say, by confessing him to be very natural man, born of his mother after the fulness of time for our redemption, and very God, begotten of his Father before all time: that this is the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the elder fathers of Christ's church.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD SERMON.

The Third Sermon sheweth, that Christ's flesh, which is the bread of life, is never received unworthily, never unto destruction; but always unto salvation, unto righteousness, and justification. That Christ with plain words, and the elder fathers, do affirm the substances of bread and wine to remain after the consecration: how the elder fathers do affirm the natures of the signs to be altered and changed, without any transubstantiation. That Christ's cup ought not to be denied to the laity: that such as come unworthily to God's sacraments be guilty of Christ's body and blood, albeit they receive the only figure and sign thereof. That, after the receipt of the holy sacrament, relapse into sin is dangerous: that we must pass our lifetime thenceforth in prayer and giving of thanks, and go into mount Olivet, that is, seek for heavenly things, and despise earthly things.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

FORASMUCH, gentle reader, as all felicity, health, and prosperity of a christian man standeth and consisteth in the perfect knowledge of the true and living God and of himself, which knowledge every faithful man may plentifully and abundantly find in the holy and sacred scriptures, as it were in a most pure and clear glass or mirror, in which all men ought to delight and exercise themselves both day and night, to the amendment of their own lives, and to the edifying of their neighbours; and considering also that there are many in these latter days, (God amend them, and send them better grace!) the which only study with hand and foot, tooth and nail, (and yet would be counted good Christians, when in very deed they are nothing less,) to impugn the truth, and to bury in perpetual oblivie and forgetfulness the monuments, labours, and travails of most worthy men, who refused no pains to advance true religion, and to overthrow the false religion, superstition, and idolatry; I have therefore taken upon me, through God's help, to set forth and bring to light these sermons, which were given unto me by master Roger Hutchinson to put into print, and that a little before the death of the most godly king, king Edward the Sixth. And because immediately after his death God's true religion was overthrown, and trodden most shamefully under foot, by the bloody papists, I was enforced and compelled, not only to surcease from printing of these sermons, but also of divers others', godly men's works. The author of these sermons, lying on his deathbed, whom the Lord took to his mercy, sent to me in my trouble, desiring me, that whensoever Almighty God, of his own mere mercy and goodness, would look no more upon our wretchedness wherewith

we had most justly provoked him unto wrath, but wipe away our sins, and hide them in the precious wounds of his Son Jesus Christ, and turn once again his merciful countenance towards us, and lighten our hearts with the bright beams of his most glorious gospel, that I would not only put these sermons of his in print, but also his other book called 'The Image of God,' the which he himself had newly corrected; declaring, that although God should take him unto his mercy, yet he would leave behind him some little monument of his good heart, mind and will, the which he bore towards the truth of God's holy word, and furtherance and profit of Christ's church: for that divers sectaries were crept in, under the colour and title of true religion, who through the persuasion of the devil hath sowed their devilish seed, as the Arians, Anabaptists, Pelagians, Papists, and divers others: that the flock of Christ's congregation might have some strong armour for the sure defence of themselves, and fit weapons, when they shall have at any time any doing with those sectaries, to the utter overthrowing of them. Therefore, as the author's good will was, through the help of God, in setting forth that book for thy profit; so accept and take it in good part, and give the thanks unto God. And as touching these sermons, judge of them thyself, as God shall give thee grace. Thus fare thou well in him that liveth for ever.

Amen.

The 25 of September.

THE FIRST SERMON

ON THE SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE EASTER.

The sum of the Gospel.

THE gospel of this day[1], well beloved in the Lord, containeth a narration of such things as our master Christ did, immediately before he was, through the covetousness of Judas, and envy of his own nation, betrayed unto death. It is a long process, as you have heard, worthy of perpetual remembrance, and a worthy matter to be declared to all men and women. For it setteth forth plainly afore our eyes, as it were in a scaffold, the Seed promised, which by many dark riddles and figures is signified and shadowed in Moses and the prophets; and containeth the benevolence, the loving kindness, the great tender mercy and good will of God the Father, who so loved us, that for our honour he suffered his honourable and only-begotten child to be dishonoured and oppressed of malicious and covetous men. And that so noble and worthy a benefit should not fall out of remembrance, which is the alone author of our redemption, and our only comfort against sin, that we should reserve this his loving kindness in continual memory, and not be unthankful, he hath commanded us, by the mouth of Christ our Lord, to celebrate a commemoration of his favour and clemency, of his Son's dishonour and death, and to resort unto the holy sacrament of the same, that is, of Christ's honourable body and blood.

Because this matter is so long, that it cannot be worthily declared in one hour, nor twain; and forasmuch as many be yet ignorant of the fruit, of the use and cause, of the mary and sweetness of the Lord's supper, and know not what it meaneth, nor what a sacrament is; and Easter now draweth nigh, at which time all men and women dispose themselves to come to Christ's banquet, as I would wish they would also as well at other times, and so some do whose prayers God doth not forget; yet, because the most part will not come but at the aforesaid feast, therefore, and also forasmuch as it

[1 Matt. xxvi. xxvii. vide Two books of Common Prayer, temp. Edw. VI. Ed. Cardwell, 1841. p. 103.]

is a member and parcel of the gospel of this Sunday before Easter, I thought it good to speak now of this matter, which is an abridgement of the whole scripture, as well for the erudition of those that be unlearned, as also that such as be stubbornly wedded to their own judgments and are hardened against the truth, may not excuse themselves by ignorance, when, to render an account of their faiths, they shall be cited to appear at the bar before the divine majesty. But that you may the better impress in your hearts, and carry away, that which I shall speak hereof, I will rehearse unto you that part and member of this gospel which comprehendeth Christ's supper.

Whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said: Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying: Drink of it every one; for this is my blood of the new testament shed for many to the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, till that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. And when they had given praises, they went out into mount Olivet.

Luke xxii. Mark xiv. 1 Cor. xi.

This matter is declared, how we do receive Christ's body and blood in the sensible sacrament of bread and wine; and also, without the sacrament, is shewed in the sixth chapter of

John vi.

St John's gospel. That I may speak hereof to the promotion of God's glory, and find out such lessons and such doctrine in the text, which may be to your instruction and edifying, which be assembled here to serve God in prayer and hearing his word, let us ask God's help and Spirit, for the which I shall desire you to say the Lord's prayer after me: "Our Father," &c.

This gospel, well beloved in the Lord, is full of spiritual erudition and heavenly comfort. It hath as many good lessons and fruitful matters as words; yea, and as many heresies be gathered of the words thereof as good lessons, as shall be declared. Lest, through plenty of matter, I be overlong and tedious, I will overrun it in order as the text leadeth, speaking much or little of every sentence, as I shall see needful for your instruction; desiring you not to look for a learned and profound declaration, but only for a plain exposition and a faithful confession of the catholic faith.

First, and in the beginning of the supper, in that the

text saith, "Whiles they were eating, Jesus took the bread;" of this we may learn, that Christ and his disciples did celebrate this sacrament of his honourable body and blood, not after the present use and manner of the congregation, but after other meats and drinks. First he did eat his passover and Easter lamb with his disciples, after the custom of the old testament, which passover and Easter lamb was a figure and shadow of our sacramental bread and wine. For as they of the old law did eat yearly an Easter lamb, in remembrance of their deliverance from Egypt and from the expression of Pharao; so we of the new testament do receive sacramental bread and wine, in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, through which we are delivered from the Egypt of sin, from the gates of hell, and from the power of the devil. And as the paschal lamb was ordained and eaten the night before the children of Israel were delivered from Egypt; so likewise this sacrament was ordained and eaten the night before we were delivered from our sins. And as when the Israelites were escaped out of Egypt, they did eat nevertheless the paschal lamb, which was called still 'the passing by,' or their 'passover and passport,' because it was a remembrance of their passage out of Egypt; and they eating the same heartily rejoiced, offering him sacrifice, and acknowledging with infinite thanks that they were the fellowship of them that had such a merciful God; so we, now being delivered from sin, do eat nevertheless the sacrament, which is still called his body that once died for our deliverance; and we heartily rejoice, offering to him the sacrifice of praise, acknowledging with infinite thanks, that we are of the fellowship of them which have such a merciful and mighty God through Christ. And their lamb was a sacrament, not only of their deliverance out of Egypt, but also it was a sacrament of Christ to come, that he through death should deliver both the Jews and all other men from the tyranny and bondage of Satan; as John the Christener taught the Jews, saying, *Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi*, "Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." He nameth Christ 'a lamb;' instructing us that their passover was a figure of his death and passion. And Paul confirmeth the same, saying, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*, "Christ our paschal lamb is offered up for us." Of these

Why Christ ordained his supper after the eating of the lamb.

Their lamb was a figure of our sacrament.

Of their deliverance.

Of Christ.

John i.

1 Cor. v.

texts and similitudes we may gather, that their passover was not only a figure and shadow of Christ's death, but also the same unto them that our sacramental bread and wine is to us. And when they did eat their lamb, such as believed on Christ to come, and were by faith Christians, did eat spiritually his flesh, and drink his blood, as truly, as really, and as effectually, as we do eat it now which be of the new testament; as shall be proved more plainly hereafter.

How our sacraments and theirs do differ.

Here is the difference and diversity between their eating and ours: a lamb was their sacrament, and so was the rock of which they drank in the wilderness; so was manna also; for they had many sacraments in which they did receive Christ's body and blood. And some of their sacraments were continual, and other some were temporal. Their Easter lamb was a continual sacrament, from the time of their deliverance out of Egypt until Christ's death. Manna also, and the rock, were sacraments thereof; but because they continued but for a time and in one age, they were but temporal sacraments. We of the new law have not many sacraments hereof, but only one sacrament of bread and wine in the place and stead of their Easter lamb; as appeareth of the similitudes afore rehearsed, and also of the institution of Christ's supper. For the text saith, that "whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread and the cup;" that is, immediately after that he had finished the ceremony of the passover, he ordained his last supper; instructing us hereby, that bread and wine be unto us of the new testament the same in effect, in use, and operation, that the aforesaid lamb was to the old Christians which were before the coming of the Seed promised.

Continual and temporal sacraments.

Why God hath disannulled the rites of the old law.

Here, percase, you will reply, and say: If in the ceremony of the Easter lamb they of the old law did eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood, why is this ceremony now abrogated and disannulled? Why have we a new sacrament of bread and wine? Is it convenient for the divine majesty, which is immutable, to make orders and laws, and to alter and change them again, as men do? I answer: They were under the law, we are under grace; they were under the old testament, we are heirs of the new testament. And because our law and theirs, our testament and theirs, our priesthood and theirs, be divers and different, therefore we

Mal. iii.

have divers sacraments from them, both of Christ's body and blood, and also of other things. They had manna, and a rock, and an Easter lamb; we have only bread and wine. They had circumcision for a continual sacrament, and the Red sea, and the cloud that went before them out of Egypt, for temporal sacraments: we have, instead of these, one continual sacrament, the laver of regeneration. Neither can any mutability be laid unto God, who is immutable, for this mutation of orders and sacraments; no more than to the husbandman, which commandeth his servants to apply other business in winter, and other things in summer or springtide. This universal world is God's house, God's mansion and palace. They of the old law were his servants, and we be his children and sons through Christ. Now, every householder commandeth other things to his servants, and other things to his children. And a king doth not govern his realm with one sort of laws and statutes; but maketh positive laws for every time and every purpose, as occasion is ministered: and so doth God. St Paul declareth this diversity and policy of Almighty God very well, where he saith, *Lex pædagogus est ad Christum*, that is, "The law Gal. iii. was a schoolmaster unto Christ." But faith being come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. A good schoolmaster doth not use one trade in teaching, nor one book, but divers trades and divers books, as his scholars increase in learning. The physician doth not cure all diseases with one medicine. So the eternal God ordained divers sacraments, divers rites and ceremonies, in divers times and ages, because of the divers conditions and natures of men. The sacraments of the old law did shadow, figure, and preach Christ to come: our sacraments do shew him, as it were upon a scaffold, already come unto our eyes. Therefore it was convenient that their orders and ours should be divers, lest, if their orders did remain still, it might give some occasion to heretics to deny that Christ is yet come. Many other causes might be rehearsed of this mutation of sacraments, which be not so necessary now to be spoken of. Therefore I will omit them, and proceed to other matters.

Albeit the Easter lamb of the Jews, which yearly was slain and eaten in remembrance of their deliverance from Egypt, and in hope of the coming of Christ, whom St John

and Paul do name our Easter lamb; albeit, I say, their sacrament were a figure of our bread and wine, yet we may not gather hereof that the holy communion of Christ's honourable body and blood is to be resorted unto but once a year, because they had but a yearly lamb and an annual remembrance, and that always at the feast of Easter; as some bishops of Rome have taught in times past, which would have the laity of every realm to have but an annual communion, that is, but once a year; and as many appear to be persuaded yet, but vainly and wickedly. For this is the common fashion of the most part of men and women: all the year long they absent themselves from God's table. And why? because they are loath to be pained with the remembrance of their sins, and with the consideration of their offences. The remembrance of our offences maketh us heavy and sorrowful, depriveth us of all mirth, bringeth us into sadness, and maketh us tremble for fear of God's displeasure. Therefore Jesus the son of Sirach saith, *Dentes leonis dentes ejus*, "Sin hath teeth like unto a lion." And the Prophet Zachary compareth it to lead. David he nameth it a burden, saying: "Mine iniquity is over my head, and doth press me down with a grievous burden." Because, I say, they will not feel this burden, and because they desire to live merely in the pleasures of the flesh, in drunkenness, in whoredom, in gluttony, in feasting and banquetting, in oppression of their neighbours, in covetousness, in unrighteous dealing, all the year long; therefore they will take no remorse, no penance, no remembrance of their sins, but once a year. 'What need I,' saith the carnal man to his own heart within himself, 'what need I to trouble myself with fear of God's displeasure, with the memory of my sins, with the remembrance of hell, of death, of the devil, every week or every month? How can a man be merry, and think always of death and hell? No: I will take my pleasure; I will laugh, and be merry all the year; I will do what me list, and at Easter I will repent. Then I will come to the Lord's table, but not before.' Examine thine own thoughts, thou oppressor, thou drunkard, thou whorekeeper, thou flatterer, and enter into your own hearts: you shall find this to be the cause of your long absence, and of your seldom coming to the Lord's banquet. For as he that hath a hungry and a

Why men absent themselves from Christ's table.

Ecclus. xxi.

Zech. v.

Psal. xxxviii.

greedy stomach to his meat, declareth hereby his body to be void of all corruption, and that he is in good and perfect health; so I say unto you, to observe an annual communion is a token of an unrighteous man, of a stubborn servant, of an unquiet woman; and to come often is a token of one which striveth against his flesh, which keepeth battle with the devil, and laboureth daily to live godly and blameless. For here we remember Christ's death and passion: the remembrance of Christ's death maketh us to remember our own offences and sins; for he died not for himself, but for our iniquities and misdeeds. The remembrance of our offences wrappeth us in sorrow and heaviness. Sorrow and heaviness do cause us to fly unto God for his help and mercy, as it is written: "In trouble I cried to thee, who embraceth us like a loving Father." For as sorrow and heaviness entered first into this world for sin, and for the guilt of Adam's disobedience; so the same now doth expel sin again, and lead us into virtue, as Paul teacheth: *Tristitia secundum Deum operatur pœnitentiam in salutem*, "Godly sorrow," saith Paul, "causeth repentance unto salvation."

Psal. cxviii.

Gen. iii.

2 Cor. vii.

Moreover, in that the text saith, that "whiles they were eating, Jesus took bread" and ordained his last supper, some do reason hereof, that the sacrament is not to be received fasting, as the custom now is, but after other meats and drinks, after a certain refection, banquet, or maundy; which, they say, those that be rich should make, to refresh the poor and needy. For the defence of this maundy they allege not only Christ's example, but also where it is written, that the Corinthians indeed kept such a maundy. But Paul reprehendeth them therefore, and disannulleth their custom as an occasion of gluttony, of drunkenness, of pride, of contention, and other misbehaviour in the church, saying unto them: "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or else despise ye the congregation of God?" And again: "If any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation." Nor Christ did not celebrate this sacrament after other meats and drinks, to stablish any such custom, nor to give us any example to do the like; but rather to teach us, that our sacramental bread is succeeded instead of the Jews' Easter lamb, and that their ceremony is now disannulled and abrogated. Therefore the universal

It is best to come to Christ's banquet fasting.

1 Cor. xi.

church commonly, according to Paul's mind to the Corinthians, useth now to celebrate the Lord's supper fasting, without any maundy, and not after other meats. Notwithstanding, as he doth well which cometh fasting to the Lord's table, so he doth not ill which, by occasion, cometh after that he hath eaten and drunk. Meat and drink do not defile, do not make a man an unmeet guest for Christ's board, for the marriage-dinner of the king's son; but lack of the
Matt. xxii. wedding garment, that is, sin and iniquity. There is no commandment in the scriptures which restraineth those that have eaten from the communion.. Paul reproveth not the Corinthians for any such thing; but because they made maundies and banquets in the house of prayer. In their
1 Cor. xi. own houses he doth not forbid them to eat and drink before the communion, but permitteth it, and leaveth them to their own liberty and necessity herein, saying: "If any man hunger, let him eat at home."

I touch this matter partly through occasion of the text, and partly also to reform those, if they will be reclaimed, which for lack of knowledge or [are] offended with those that come after meat through some necessity; which offence cometh of a good zeal and of a good intent; but good intents must be reformed according to knowledge. And, percase, some will be offended with me for uttering this matter. Be not offended with truth, be not deceived nor bewitched with superstition and blind zeal; but consider my words indifferently, or rather not my words, but the words of Chrysostom, a learned and an elder father of Christ's church, who saith a great deal more in this matter than I have said; whose saying moved me also at this time to touch this matter. For unless he or some other learned man did affirm it, I would not teach it. He, in his ninth
Chrysost. Homil. ix. ad popul. Antioch. homily *ad populum Antiochenum*, is earnest against those which withdraw them from the communion many times, because they were not fasting; and he exhorteth them to come otherwhiles after meat, saying: *Si tibi persuaseris, quod post cibum et potum, et ad σύναξιν convenire necesse est, omnino et invitus multam geres curam modestiæ, et neque in ebrietatem neque in crapulam umquam deduceris. Cura enim et exspectatio in ecclesia conveniendi cum honesta mensura cibum et potum sumere docet, ne ingressus et fratribus commixtus, postea*

vinum redolens, et inordinatè eructans, ab omnibus præsentibus deridearis[1]. Which words be thus much to say, 'If thou determine with thyself to come otherwhiles to the communion, after thou hast eat and drunk, by this means thou shalt learn to be modest and sober in thy behaviour, thou shalt never offend in drunkenness, nor defile thyself with gluttony; but, remembering God's table, thou wilt take meat and drink with moderation, lest coming to the church, if thou smell of wine, or belch inordinately through the fulness of your stomach, thou be a laughing-stock to all that shall see thee in that taking.'

Whensoever thou art godly affected, whensoever thou hast remorse for thy sins, with an earnest intent of amendment and reformation of thy living, be not afraid to come to Christ's banquet, to the marriage-dinner of the king's son, whether thou hast eaten and drunk, or art fasting. Be afraid, if thou, being an officer or magistrate, dost devise evil statutes, either ecclesiastical or temporal, contrary to the statutes of the eternal God; or if thou dost make unlawful grants, and give dispensations, licenses, and cockets, to carry wool, leather, corn, or other wares over the sea; enpoverishing many thousands to enrich thyself and few others. Be afraid, if thou be a tailor, and dost steal part of their cloth (which cost them dear) from thy customers, making them believe that no less than three yards will serve their turn, when two yards be sufficient. Be afraid to come, if thou keep a draper's or an haberdasher's or poticary's shop, and dost oppress thy brethren by taking immoderate and unreasonable gains; if thou be a husbandman, and wilt not store markets and fairs, neither with grain, nor with cattle, which is thy vocation and calling; if thou be a butcher, and wilt not sell thy beeves, muttons, and veals, at the king's price, or for

Magistrates.

Tailors.

Drapers. Poticaries.

Husbandmen.

Butchers.

[1 "Οταν γὰρ ᾖς σαυτὸν πεπεικὼς, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς σύναξιν ἀπαντῆσαι, πάντως καὶ ἄκων πολλάκις ἐπιμελήσῃ τῆς σωφροσύνης, καὶ οὔτε εἰς μέθην οὔτε εἰς ἀδηφαγίαν κατενεχθήσῃ ποτέ· ἡ γὰρ φροντὶς καὶ ἡ προσδοκία τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφίξεως παιδεύει μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐκοσμίας καὶ τροφῆς καὶ ποτοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν· ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθὼν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναμιχθεὶς, εἶτα ἀποπνέων οἴνου καὶ ἐρευγόμενος ἀτάκτως, καταγελασθῇς παρὰ τῶν παρόντων ἁπάντων. Chrysostom. Opera ii. 97. Edit. Paris. 1718—1738.]

reasonable vantage, but killest them without effusion and letting forth the blood, that they may weigh more, to the poisoning of the eaters; if thou be a baker, and dost break the king's assize and statute, hurting many to benefit thyself. If thou be a person, having cure of soul, and yet dost nothing therefore, but feed thine own body and live idly; and dost not only not preach thyself, but also, when other preach to thy parishioners, thou defacest them behind their backs, and dost discredit them as much as lieth in thee; (as I know one was defaced not long ago, which preached wholesome and fruitful doctrine, even in this place;) if, I say, thou be such a one, presume not to come to Christ's banquet, lest in his stead Sathan enter into thee, as he did into Judas, and you be expelled into utter darkness. Presume not to come without thy wedding-garment, without a renewed heart, in malice and out of charity, in sin and iniquity. Be afraid, if thou be an extortioner, an oppressor of others for thine own commodity; if thou be a flatterer, a pickthank, a talebearer, a spy, or an instrument unto oppression and iniquity; if thou be a sower of debate, strife, and variance; if thou be a slanderer, that is, an ill-speaker of good men. For it is lawful to say that an evil man is an evil man, and that an oppressor is an oppressor; if thou hast admonished him, and he not amend, this is no slander. Yea, I say unto you, that it is flattery, it is grievous sin, to speak well of such an evil man; for it is sin to lie on the devil, according to the common saying. "Woe worth them," saith the prophet Esay, "that call evil good, and good evil; which maketh darkness light, and light darkness; that maketh sour sweet, and sweet sour: woe be unto them!" We must bless evil men, that is, pray for their amendment and reformation: so Christ's commandment is to be taken, which he gave his disciples, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, "Bless them that curse you," that is, "Pray for them:" for they corrupt the text which turn it, "Speak well of them;" unless they expound 'well-speaking,' to be prayer to God for their conversion. We may not speak well of them which be notable evil; for we may not lie, we may not flatter, lest that curse of the prophet fall upon us, which saith, "Woe be to you that call evil good," &c. Therefore let us say the truth of such evil men, that shame and report may cause

Bakers.

Pastors.

Who is a slanderer.

Flattery.

Isai. v.

Matt. v.

them to amend, and that other may be afraid to commit the same faults and to follow their ungracious example. If we praise evil men, besides that we lie, we encourage other to follow them; we embolden them to go forward in wickedness and to rejoice in sin; we do break God's commandment, which saith, *Non dices falsum testimonium*, "Thou shalt be no false witness." But of this in anywise beware, that thou do not report evil of those which be godly. For as the other is flattery and lying, so this is slander and railing, and against the aforesaid precept. And the prophet also crieth: "Woe unto such that call good evil, and light darkness, and sweet sour."

Exod. xx. Deut. v.

Isai. v.

Before thou comest to God's board, examine and try thyself, whether thou be guilty of any of these things afore rehearsed; of oppression, of flattery, of malice, of slander, of lying, of envy, of bait-making. Follow the counsel of St Paul; judge thyself that thou be not judged of the Lord. And as householders and masters of colleges do call their stewards and bowsers to an account and audit, to know what they have received, and what they have expended and laid forth for every thing, what is not received, and what remaineth still in their hands; so do thou make thyself a judge over thine own conscience; call thy soul to give an account of all his thoughts; call thine eyes to a reckoning for all their wanton and unchaste looks; examine thine ears, whether they have been corrupted with flattery, with detraction, or with evil counsel; call thy hands to account for covetously taking that which was not thine; ask account and a reckoning of thy tongue, what oaths, what slanders, what brags, what bawdry, what evil counsel, what heresy, and what pestiferous doctrine he hath sowed and uttered. For if thou do not prove and examine thyself, according to Paul's counsel, but come with a defiled conscience to God's board, thou dost not eat Christ's body, which is the bread of life, and is received only unto health and salvation; but thou dost eat *panem mortis*, 'the bread of death,' the bread of judgment, the bread of damnation; and art guilty, as Paul saith, "of the body and blood of Christ," because thou dost abuse, defile, and despise the sacrament thereof.

1 Cor. xi.

1 Cor. xi.

But to return to the text: St Matthew writeth, that our Saviour Christ gave thanks, and that, "after thanks rendered,"

he brake bread and distributed it to his disciples: whereas
Luke xxii. Matthew and Luke say, that "he gave thanks," Mark hath
Mark xiv. these words, "He took bread, and blessed, and brake it."

Here we say, that 'to bless' is to give thanks to God for all his innumerable benefits, and namely for our redemption through Christ. No, saith the papist; 'to bless' is to make a sign of the cross on the sacrament. And to defend this interpretation they allege St Paul's authority,
1 Cor. x. who saith, "Is not the cup of blessing, which we bless, partaking of the blood of Christ?" I answer: the Greek word, in these two texts which they allege for their crossing, is εὐλογία: which word cannot signify 'to cross.' For whereas Paul termeth it, "the cup of blessing which we bless," the Greek is, τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν. And for the English, "he blessed and brake the bread," Mark saith in the Greek tongue, in which he wrote his
Mark xiv. gospel, λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε: which word, I say, cannot signify 'to make a sign of the cross.' For the Greeks never used it in such signification; and the oriental and Greek church never took it so: neither do we read that the Greek church used ever any such gesture upon the sacrament. Then, what is the meaning of these words, "he blessed and brake the bread?"

'To bless,' is not to make a cross.

You shall understand, that 'to bless' is a word of many significations, and many times used in the scriptures. And yet throughout the whole bible it doth never signify, 'to make a sign of the cross.' I do not mean nor affirm, that it is evil to make a cross on thy forehead; but to teach that Christ crossed the sacrament, and to defend crossing to be a necessary ceremony to be used at the distribution of Christ's supper, this is papistical leaven, superstitious doctrine, and to make the scriptures a nose of wax, a tennis-ball, and to wrest them to every purpose. 'To bless,' here, is to give thanks to God the Father for his merciful beholding of our misery, for pardoning Adam's disobedience, and for sending his Son to be born of a woman, to grind and break in sunder the serpent's head; that is, to destroy the power of the devil through death, through his cross, and by the effusion and shedding of his blood. And the cup of blessing, of which Paul speaketh, is as much to say as, the cup of thanksgiving; for he expoundeth it even so in

the next chapter himself. And whereas Mark saith that Christ 'blessed,' Matthew and Luke say, expounding one another, that he 'gave thanks.' For this use, intent, and purpose this sacrament was chiefly and principally ordained; that we should not forget the great clemency and special favour of the eternal God, for the death and passion of Christ our Lord, but reserve this his benefit in continual memory. And therefore many of the elder fathers do name this holy sacrament εὐλογία, or εὐχαριστία, that is, 'a rendering of praise,' and 'a thanksgiving.'

It followeth in the text, how, after that Christ had given thanks, "that he brake the bread, and gave it to his disciples, and bade them take and eat it. And he took the cup likewise, and gave it them, saying, Drink of it, every one:" or, as Luke saith, "He took the cup, and said, *Accipite, et dividite inter vos*, Take this and divide it among you." Christ our master doth not receive this holy sacrament alone, but with his disciples. Neither do we read in all the new testament that ever any received it privately, or severally from others. The Acts of the Apostles testify, that they which believed resorted together oftentimes to celebrate this sacrament. But they do not speak of any private receipt; for Christ ordaineth here no private mass, but a communion. Let us follow his example, and celebrate Christ's supper, not as our forefathers have done many years and of long time; but as Christ, who is before all time and all years, did celebrate it first, and as his disciples did use it in the primitive and apostolic church.

Christ ordaineth here a communion, not a private mass. Acts ii.

You will say, there hath been a custom contrary many years: and I have heard some say, that when the devotion of the laity and temporality waxed cold, that the apostles and their successors gave liberty to ministers to receive it alone. I answer, this custom begun but of late days, and not many years agone. For, as chronicles do make plain and evident relation, Gregory[1], surnamed the great, the first bishop of Rome of that name, was the first founder of private masses, who was Anno Domini 595. Almost for the space of six hundred years there was no private receipt.

An objection.

The answer.

Gregorius magnus.

[1] Fecit inter alia beatus papa Gregorius, ut in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli super corpora eorum missæ celebrarentur. Beda, Hist. Eccles. lib. II. c. 1. p. 95. Edit. 1838.]

The East church. Moreover, this is most certain and true, that the oriental church never unto this day did allow or use private masses; as appeareth plainly of the name which they give to this sacrament; for they call it σύναξις, that is, a communion, or a coming and assemble together of many in one place. And Pliny. for an evident proof of this, you shall understand that Pliny[1], he that was *Proconsul Bithyniæ*, that is, governor and captain of Bithynia, in the time of that wise emperor Trajan, this Pliny, I say, in a certain epistle which he writeth to the foresaid emperor, *De ritu Christianorum*, Of the rites and fashions of the Christians, is a witness hereof, that the Greeks in his time had a communion, and no private masses. And other learned writers do credibly report, that certain churches The Venetians. of the Venetians within this thirty years and less, did not celebrate the Lord's supper alone, or any man privately by himself: and it may well be that they do so still at this day. Of these it is evident, that private masses be not of so ancient and long continuance, or so universally received, as the papists do face and brag the matter, after their accustomed sort.

An objection. But you will go further with me and say: If the laity will receive, they may, for they were never restrained; but if they will not, thinking themselves unworthy to receive it often themselves, why may not the priest receive it alone for The answer. them? We may pray one for another, so we are exhorted to do; but no man may receive the sacrament for others, but for himself only. That which thou receivest, thou receivest by thine own faith, and for spiritual food to thine own soul, and not to others. For it is written, *Justus ex fide* Habak. ii. Rom. i. Heb. x. *sua vivet*, "The righteous man shall live by faith;" by his own faith, and not by another man's faith, nor by another's receipt. And as no man hath nourishment or sustenance of the meat which another doth eat, so this spiritual food doth profit only such as take and eat it themselves according to

[1 Affirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem: seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium. Plin. Epist. Lib. x. Epist. 97.]

Christ's precept. They be not edified nor refreshed with another man's spirit, with another man's faith or receipt, no more than they be regenerate and renewed with the baptism of others. For if it be true that Paul saith, *Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit*, that is, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh to his own condemnation," and not to any other man's condemnation; ergo, he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth but to his own health and salvation, and not to the health and profit of others. The benefit, the fruit, and the whole commodity of this sacrament dependeth upon the promises which Christ hath annexed to it; which promises be pronounced only to those that come to his supper themselves; as these promises, "Whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life:" "I will raise him up," saith Christ, "at the last day:" and, "he dwelleth in God, and God in him." These promises, I say, be not made to thee, unless thou come to God's table thyself; another man's receipt doth nothing profit or edify thee. Therefore Paul unto the Corinthians, after that he restraineth them from making any banquet or refection before this supper, afterward, speaking of this sacrament, he commandeth both priests and others not to receive one for another, but one to tarry for another, saying, *Alius alium expectate, cum convenitis ad manducandum*, "Tarry," saith Paul, "one for another, when ye come together to eat." He speaketh these words of Christ's supper; for he forbiddeth the Corinthians in the same chapter to eat any other meat in the house of prayer than bread and wine in commemoration of the death of Christ. Ambrose, a learned and holy father of Christ's church, doth so construe and take this text, disallowing and reproving all private receipt; and also Theophylact[2]. For Ambrose saith upon this text[3]: *Ad invicem expectandum est, ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur, et ut omnibus ministretur;*

1 Cor. xi.

John vi.

1 Cor. xi.

St Ambrose.

Theophylact.

[2 Ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν, ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε. Αὖθις εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν πενήτων ἦλθε λόγον, μεθ' ὃ ἐμνήσθη κολάσεων καὶ θανάτων. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλήλοις μετάδοτε, ἀλλ', ἐκδέχεσθε· δεικνύων ὅτι κοινά εἰσι τὰ ἐκεῖσε εἰσφερόμενα, καὶ δεῖ ἀναμένειν τὴν κοινὴν συνέλευσιν. Theophylact, II. 193. Edit. Venet. 1754—63.]

[3 Ambrosii Opera, II. 150. Edit. Paris. 1686—1690, in appendice.]

that is to say, 'We must tarry for others, that many may offer up thanks and praises, and that all the congregation may receive.' Thanks be unto God, that we have Christ's supper in that fashion and manner which he himself observed. Yet because all men be not persuaded, and some do murmur and grudge at this godly reformation, and of a stubbornness absent themselves from the holy communion, and would fly back into Egypt again to hear masses, as they were wont to do, I thought it necessary to touch this matter, to reform their judgments, if they will be reclaimed.

What word of God, what authority of scriptures, can be alleged for private masses? Or who is able to shew that ever any of the apostles, any holy man in the primitive church, or any of the elder fathers before Pope Gregory, did celebrate privately? If there be neither example of any holy man, nor no authority, no text, no testimony of the scripture to maintain them, let us conclude that it is but a dream and fantasy of man, submitting our judgments to God's book. Moreover, as Christ did not ordain his supper to be received privately for benefactors either dead or alive, or for others, no more did he elevate and lift up the sacrament over his head, to be seen and worshipped of his disciples. He gave it them into their hands to eat, and not to honour it; to receive it, and not to worship it with holding up of their hands and knocks on their breasts. Only God is to be honoured with this kind of reverence, and no sacrament; for God is not a sacrament, neither is the sacrament God. What a sacrament is, is too long a matter to entreat now, because I will not weary you; I will defer this point unto the next sermon. Then I will shew you also how Christ's body is in the holy sacrament, and proceed further into the text.

The elevation.

Let us use it as Christ and his apostles did. If thou wilt be more devout than they were, be not deceived, but beware that thy devotion be not idolatry. Christ gave it them into their hands, not into their mouths. Neither be thou afraid to take and handle it with thy hands, as they did. Consider not how it hath been used in times past. The council holden at Rotomage did first forbid men to take it in their hands. Regard more Christ's example, and the example of his disciples and of the primitive church, which

It is best to take the sacrament into our hands.

Concil. Rotomag.

always did take it into their hands, than the late example of our forefathers. But thou wilt say, the King's Book, made by the learned clergy and wise men of this realm according to God's word, and confirmed by most high authority of the lords and commons of the parliament, commandeth me to receive the holy sacrament at the priest's hands into my mouth[1]. As the apostles commanded all christian men and women to abstain from blood, and from strangled meats, to bear with those that were weak and for other certain considerations, which commandment St Paul afterward dis- annulleth, professing no meat to be unclean, and licensing them to eat both blood and strangled, which license they embraced willingly and obediently; and as they of the primitive church commanded the people to receive it at their mouths, because some receiving it in their hands did convey away the sacrament secretly, to abuse it to superstition and magical uses; so the king commandeth the same indeed for like considerations, for a time and season, for an uniformity, and to bear with thy infirmity and weakness, until thou shalt have more knowledge by reading and hearing God's sacred word, and until thou shalt be grown a strong and a perfect

Acts xv.

Rom. xiv. Tit. i.

[1] This passage does not refer to the work entitled "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christen Man," published in 1543, which was called The King's Book, in contradistinction to "The Institution of a Christen Man," published in 1537, and commonly known as The Bishop's Book; but to the first Book of Common Prayer in English, brought into use in 1549, under the authority of the act of the 2nd and 3rd Edward VI., cap. 1. (Auth. Ed. of Stats. iv. 36). A rubric in that book is in the following words: "And although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years past received at the priest's hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary; yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness; lest any thing such hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths at the priest's hand." In the second Book of Common Prayer, set forth in 1552, the rubric just quoted was omitted, and the mode of delivering the bread to communicants altered, by adding to a former rubric, in which the priest was directed to give the bread "to the people," these words, "in their hands kneeling." Vide Dr Cardwell's Two Books of Com. Prayer, pp. 303, 308, 316. Edit. 1841.]

man in Christ's holy religion; intending, as I take it, when thy heart is tilled with the seed of God's word, and able to digest stronger meat, to make an uniform law to the contrary, and to command all men, women, and children to receive it with their hands, as priests do, and as Christ and his disciples did, and the laity of the primitive church. For indifferent things the king's majesty, with his clergy and the advice of his parliament, may do and undo, forbid and command, and make one law this year, and another clean contrary the next year. Therefore, whensoever the same authority shall will thee to take it in thy hands again, or if they shall will thee to receive it sitting, thou must as willingly obey their commandment as they of the primitive church did embrace Paul's commandment touching blood and strangled meats, notwithstanding it was a contrary commandment to that which all the apostles had concluded upon a little before, as is registered. In the mean time, I do not bid thee disobey or break their first commandment.

Acts xv.

But if it be an indifferent thing, thou wilt say, why may I not do as I list? Or how may they forbid me to take it with my mouth? for then they make it not indifferent. It is not evil to receive with thy mouth; but it is better to receive it in thy hands, forasmuch as Christ's disciples did so: and in indifferent things the magistrates may command thee to do that is the better, yea, or that which is worse, as they shall see cause and considerations. Prepare thy heart, therefore, to obedience in such things; and be as ready to receive it in thy hands as with thy mouth; be as ready to receive it sitting as kneeling; yea, even to-morrow, if they shall will thee so to do. And as thou dost willingly obey them in that they bid thee take it with thy mouth, so obey them concerning adoration; for in that they command that the sacrament shall not be heaved nor lift up, they forbid thee to honour it.

The conclusion, with enumeration and prayer.

Thus I have declared you my faith and knowledge; that is, why God ordained his supper after the eating of the lamb; that their lamb was a figure of our sacramental bread and wine, a commemoration of the deliverance, and a sacrament of Christ's death; that the Jews had some continual rites and sacraments, and other some temporal. I shewed you how their sacraments and ours, how their receipt and

ours, doth differ; why God, who is immutable, disannulled their rites, and ordained new rites and new ceremonies for us; for what causes men absent themselves from Christ's banquet, to which they should come not annually, but continually; and that, as it is best to come fasting thereto, so it is not evil to receive after meat and drink. I have proved, that 'to bless' is not to make a cross upon the sacrament, but to render thanks to God the Father for the remission of our sins through the Seed promised; that Christ ordaineth here no private mass, but a communion; and that the scriptures, and the oriental church, and St Ambrose, a godly and learned father of the Latin church, disallow all private receipt; and that, as it is not evil to receive the holy sacrament at thy mouth, so it is better to take it in thy hands, as Christ and his apostles did, and the laity of the primitive church. These matters be touched hitherto; but unless God inwardly with his Spirit do teach you this philosophy and wisdom, and transform your hearts and judgments, leading you into all truth, my preaching is but lost labour: therefore let us call upon the name of God, with prayer and invocation, for his help and holy Spirit.

Let us pray for the universal company of Christ's church throughout all realms and dominions, wheresoever they dwell, namely for the congregation of England and Ireland, desiring the eternal God, of his fatherly mercy, to continue and strengthen both them and us in the confession and obedience of his word and truth: also, for all infidels and unbelievers, that God may turn their hearts to believe upon his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; for St Paul unto Timothe commandeth us to pray for all men; for the king's majesty, a prince of most excellent hope, that virtue and knowledge may dwell in his noble heart. For these things, for the remission of our sins, and for God's help hereafter in all our works, words, and thoughts, I shall desire you to say a prayer after me.

THE PRAYER.

O Eternal God, who art the author of all truth, and didst ordain this holy sacrament of bread and wine by thy only-begotten Son, in the room and place of the Easter lamb, which they of the old law did eat yearly for a memory of their deliverance from Egypt and from Pharao by thy mighty power, and in hope of the coming of Christ, whom John the Christener and Paul do call our Easter lamb; that we of the new law, receiving this new sacrament, should reserve thy loving kindness in continual remembrance, in that thou hast sent thy only Son to become woman's seed, to break the serpent's head, and to deliver us from the power of the devil and from the bondage of sin by his cross, and by the effusion of his most honourable blood: Hear our prayers and supplications, O merciful Father, and send us thy Spirit from thy holy place, to persuade all men and women to celebrate thy supper, after the example of Christ, and of his apostles and disciples; and stablish the hearts of the people against false teachers of private masses and of superstitious crossing, with the contemplation of Christ's ensample, with the use of the oriental church, and with the knowledge of thy holy scriptures; that we may be meet guests for thy table, and be partakers of all the benefits of Christ's death and passion: to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, and glory, and praise, now and ever.

So be it.

THE SECOND SERMON

ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

In my last sermon, well-beloved in the Lord, whereas I began to declare unto you the Lord's supper, which was a part and member of the gospel, and through plenty of matter I did not end the same; now, according to my promise, I will shew you what a sacrament is, and how Christ's body and blood be present in his holy supper.

Thus much remaineth yet to be spoken of: "Take, eat," saith Christ, "this is my body." And likewise of the cup he saith, "Drink of it, every one; for this is my blood of the new testament, shed for many to the forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, till that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. And when they had sung praises, they went out into mount Olivet."

That I may declare this heavenly matter to God's honour, and find out such lessons and erudition as may be meet for this audience, and for your edifying and instruction, which be assembled here to serve God in prayer and hearing his word, let us ask God's help and his holy Spirit; for the which I shall desire you to say the Lord's prayer after me: "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c.

There is no matter in the holy scripture, well-beloved in the Lord, more necessary to be known and to be discussed than these words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, "This is my body," and, "This is my blood of the new testament." There is no text which hath been so abused and racked to maintain superstition and divers purposes. And whereas Christ ordaineth here a sacrament of unity, to knit us together in peace, amity, and love, *inimicus homo superseminavit zizania*, that is, the devil, who goeth about to deprave all godly things, hath sown so many tares, and such pestiferous opinions, and hurtful seeds, and damnable doctrine, in men's hearts, by his ministers, the papists, the questionists, schoolmen, and the anabaptists, that nothing now is a matter of more contention, of more debate, strife and variance, not only Matt. xiii.

between man and man, but also between countries and kingdoms; because every man is wedded stubbornly to his own judgment. And whereas they should reform their opinions, and submit their judgments to God's scriptures, as to the touchstone which trieth good from evil, they rather do rack and wrest God's word, making it a mariner's slop, or a nose of wax, and bowing it unto every purpose. Therefore I thought it good to utter my knowledge, which is but small, in this matter; not to teach such as be instructed and already ripe in knowledge, of whom I am desirous to learn myself; but, partly, for their sakes and erudition which be unlearned and of the laity, that they may know how to prepare themselves to come to God's board this holy time of Easter, and at other times; and, partly also, to testify and profess my conscience and faith in this matter.

Many do affirm and think these words of Christ, "This is my body," to be a like phrase, a like kind and a like manner of speech, as when he saith, *Ego sum vitis*, "I am the vine," "I am the door," "I am the way," "I am the bridegroom." They be no like phrases, but far divers and different; for the vine is no sacrament; neither the door, nor the way, nor the bridegroom, be no sacraments, but metaphors and borrowed speeches. The bread of which Christ said, "This is my body," and the wine which he affirmeth to be his blood, be not bare and naked metaphors, as the aforesaid phrases are, but they be sacraments of his honourable body and comfortable blood; as both the occidental and oriental and the Greek church, and all writers both new and old, do acknowledge and confess with one voice. For all christendom have always agreed in this point. Therefore the nature of a sacrament being thoroughly known, and examined and tried, it will teach you the meaning of Christ's words, and how he is present in his supper.

John xv. John x. John xiv. Luke v. Matt. ix. Rev. xviii.

What a sacrament is.

What is a sacrament? I will not devise a description of mine own head, nor shew a fantasy of mine own brain. I will follow in this matter the sentence and judgments of others, whose excellent learning and singular virtues are known to all the world. St Austin, an elder and holy father of Christ's church, and a man of a most ripe judgment and sharp searching wit in the scriptures, in his book *De Catechizandis rudibus*, defineth a sacrament thus: *Sacramentum est*

St Austin De Catechi. rudib.

signaculum invisibilis gratiæ, A sacrament is a visible, a sensible, and an outward sign or token of an invisible grace or benefit[1]. And he expresseth the meaning of this definition more plainly in a certain letter, verily in his twenty-third epistle, which he writeth to one Bonifacius II., where he witnesseth all sacraments to be figures and similitudes of the benefit and grace which they do represent and signify, saying, "If sacraments have not certain similitudes of these things whereof they are sacraments, then are they no sacraments."[2] And for this similitude, for the most part, they take the names of the very things. And St Cyprian hath even the very same doctrine and the same words, in a certain sermon which he made *De Chrismate*, "Of anointing."[3] If therefore the bread of which Christ saith, "This is my body," be a sacrament, as cannot be denied, then it hath the name of Christ's body because of some similitudes which shall be declared straightways, and not because of any transubstantiation: that is to say, it is a sensible and an outward sign of his holy flesh; and the wine likewise is a sensible sign of his honourable blood, without any mutation, change, or alteration of the natures and substances either of bread or wine. But because this is a dark and a secret mystery, I will essay to express it more evidently, and to declare the similitudes and properties which do change the

Epist. xxiii.

St Cyprian de Chrism.

[1 De sacramento sane quod accipit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari; nec sic habendam esse illam speciem benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet: dicendum etiam quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo condiat, cujus illa res similitudinem gerit. Augustin. De Catechiz. rudibus, Opera, VI. 293. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[2 Vide p. 36, n. 2.]

[3 Nihil hoc oleum commune habet cum liquoribus qui ex quôrumdam fructuum pinguedine exprimuntur, nec vis ejus est ex crassitudine penetrativa, quæ secundum quasdam naturales rationes emollit et temperat spissamenta humorum, quos solet intrinsecus astringere siccitas aliqua, vel corruptio conglobare. Non hæc medendis corporibus est unctio instituta: quia sanctificatis elementis jam non propria natura præbet effectum, sed virtus divina potentius operatur, sed adest veritas signo, et spiritus sacramento; ut et ipsis rerum efficientiis gratiæ dignitas pateat, et interiori homini quanta ex his detur auctoritas deiformi conversatione et cœlestibus moribus innotescat. Cypriani Opera, p. CXXIII. Edit. Paris. 1726, inter Opera Arnoldi Abbatis Bonæ Vallis.]

names of bread and wine, but not their natures and essence. Give diligent heed, and ponder well what I shall say; for this matter is very hard.

When our Saviour Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, he ordaineth a sacrament; that is, he giveth the name of the thing to the signs of bread and wine, so that notwithstanding the matter, the nature and substance of the signs do remain and continue. Unless their substance and natures do remain, I say unto you, bread and wine can be no sacraments. For sacraments, as I told you before out of St Austin, are so called of the similitudes of those things to which they be sacraments. Take away the matter, the substance, and nature of bread and wine, and thou takest away all similitudes, which must of necessity be in the signs of bread and wine after the consecration, and in that they be sacraments. For all the elder and learned fathers of Christ's church do confess with one voice, and the scriptures do witness the same, that there must be three similitudes and properties in bread and wine; a similitude of nourishing, a similitude of unity, and a similitude of conversion; for which properties and similitudes bread and wine be named Christ's body and blood, and not for any transubstantiation or alteration of their natures.

Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, for three properties and similitudes.

The similitude and property of *nourishing* is this: that as bread and wine do nourish our bodies, and comfort our outward man, so the body and blood of Christ be the meat and food of our souls, and do comfort our inward man. Christ expresseth this similitude, calling himself *Panem vitæ*, "The bread of eternal life," and professing his flesh to be very meat, and his blood to be very drink; that is, the food and spiritual sustenance of man's soul and mind. This, I say, is one cause why Christ affirmeth bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood; as St Hierom teacheth us, writing thus of Christ's supper upon Matthew: 'After the eating of the mystical lamb with his apostles, *assumit panem qui confortat cor hominis*, he took,' saith this holy father, 'he took bread which comforteth the heart of man.'[1] And that this is St Hierom's meaning, Beda doth declare, who upon Luke doth set out this

A similitude of nourishing.

John vi.

St Jerome super Matt.

Beda in Lucam.

[1] Postquam typicum Pascha fuerat impletum, et agni carnes cum apostolis comederet, assumit panem, qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum Paschæ transgreditur sacramentum; ut quomodo in præfiguratione

sentence of Hierom more copiously, saying: "Because bread doth confirm or strengthen the flesh, and wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore is the bread referred mystically unto Christ's body, and the wine is referred unto his blood."[2]

Another cause why bread and wine is named Christ's flesh and blood, is another similitude, of *unity*; which is thus much to say: 'As the sacramental loaf of which we do eat, coming to the communion, is made of many corns of wheat by the liquor of water knoden into dough, and yet it is but one loaf or one cake; and as the holy wine is made of the juice of divers and many grapes, and yet is but one cup of wine; so all they that eat Christ's body and drink his blood through faith, though they be never so many, yet by the liquor of charity and love they are made one body and one flesh; the mystical body of the Son of God, which is his church and congregation, and not his natural body. St Paul expresseth this similitude, witnessing that the bread is a sacrament, not only of Christ's natural body, but also of the congregation and mystical body, saying, *Unus panis, unum corpus, multi sumus*, that "albeit we be many, yet notwithstanding we are one loaf, and one body." What a loaf are we? Verily, even *triticeus panis*, 'a wheaten loaf;' by the similitude and property of unity which I have declared. St Cyprian also, in his sixth letter which he writeth to one Magnus, in his first book, alloweth this similitude, writing thus: "The Lord," saith this holy father, "calleth bread, made of many grains or corns, his body, and he nameth wine, made of the juice of the clusters of divers grapes, his blood."[3] And St Austin, *in sermone de sacra feria Paschæ*,

A similitude of unity.

1 Cor. x.

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 6.

ejus Melchisedec, summi Dei sacerdos, panem et vinum offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret. Hieronymus, in Matth. xxvi. Opera IV. 128. Edit. Paris. 1695—1706.]

[2 Quia ergo panis carnem confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. Beda, in Luc. XXII. 19. Opera, II. 360. Edit. Paris. 1554.]

[3 Denique unanimitatem christianam firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexam etiam ipsa dominica sacrificia declarant. Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum; et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. Cypriani Epist. LXXVI. Opera, p. 153. Edit. Paris. 1726.]

"in a certain sermon which he made of the holy feast of passover," alloweth the same similitude or property, proving us by this property to be Christ's body, saying: "Because Christ hath suffered for us, he hath betaken unto us in this sacrament his body and blood, which he hath also made ourselves. For we are also made his body; and by his mercy we are even the same thing that we receive."[1] And afterward he saith, in the said sermon: 'Now in the name of Christ you are come, as a man would say, to the chalice of the Lord. There are ye upon the table, and there are ye in the chalice.'[2]

A similitude of conversion.

The third similitude, of *conversion*, for the which also the sacrament is affirmed to be Christ's flesh and blood, is this: that as the bread and wine are turned into the substance of our bodies by feeding and sustaining them, so by the receiving of Christ's body and blood we are turned into the nature of them, we are changed and altered, and made holy, flesh of his flesh and bones of his bones, as Paul witnesseth. And Chrysostom confirmeth the same, saying, *Nos secum in unam massam reducit; neque id fide solum, sed reipsa corpus suum efficit*:[3] "We," saith this holy and learned father, "we are made one matter with Christ; not by faith alone and charity," (as he writeth also to the people of Antioch;) "but we are made even his very body, *reipsa*, that is, effectually, truly, and really." And St Ambrose doth write, that we are changed and turned into Christ[4].

Eph. v.

Chrys. Ho. 83. super Matt.

Homil. 63. ad popul. Antioch.

Amb. lib. iv. sacra. ca. 4.

[1 Quia passus est pro nobis, commendavit nobis in isto sacramento corpus et sanguinem suum; quod etiam fecit et nos ipsos. Nam et nos corpus ipsius facti sumus, et per misericordiam ipsius quod accipimus nos sumus. August. De sacra feria Paschæ, Serm. ccxxix. Opera v. 976. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[2 Jam in nomine Christi tamquam ad calicem Domini venistis: et ibi vos estis in mensa, ibi vos estis in calice. August. ibid.]

[3 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ τὸ ῥαπισθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναφύρει ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐ τῇ πίστει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι σῶμα ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ κατασκευάζει. Chrysostom. Opera, vii. 788. Edit. Paris. 1718—38.]

[4 "Ego sum," inquit "panis vivus qui de cœlo descendi." Sed caro non descendit e cœlo, hoc est, carnem in terris adsumpsit ex Virgine. Quomodo ergo descendit panis e cœlo, et panis vivus? Quia idem Dominus noster Jesus Christus consors est et divinitatis et corporis: et tu qui accipis carnem, divinæ ejus substantiæ in illo participaris

And Emissenus also doth profess a real mutation of us into Christ[5]. And yet we are not transubstantiate and converted, we are not transformed into him, but our nature and substance remaineth still, as it did before our receipt of the sacrament: and so doth the nature and substance of the sacraments. For if the nature of bread and wine be altered, our nature must be altered in like manner, forasmuch as the fathers witness, that we do eat Christ's flesh *reipsa*, that is, really and effectually; so that our flesh is made holy flesh of his flesh, and we must be, as Paul saith, "bones of his bones." How are we flesh of his flesh? Not by any mutation or change of our substance, essence, or nature, which remaineth still; but in that we do eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood by faith and belief, by which only Christ is eaten and drunken, and no ways else. To eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood is to believe that the Son of God took on him our humanity; to believe that his body was nailed upon the cross, and that his blood was let forth and shed for the remission of our sins, for our transgressions and offences, and to repose us into his Father's favour again, who was displeased with us. To teach us this, he calleth himself the bread of God, that came from heaven to give life unto the world: which chapter is a manifest probation of this matter, that his flesh is never eaten, neither in the sacrament nor without the sacrament, but only by belief. St Augustine, whose excellent learning and virtue is well known, doth so take all that is spoken there; for he saith,

Emissenus.

Eph. v.

John vi.

St Austin in cap. 6. Joan.

alimento. Ambrosii, De Sacram. Lib. VI. c. 1. Opera, II. 381. Edit. Paris. 1686—90.]

[5 Ut tibi novum et impossibile videri non debeat, quod in Christi substantiam terrena et mortalia convertuntur, teipsum, qui jam in Christo es regeneratus, interroga. Dudum alienus a vita, peregrinus a misericordia, a salutis via intrinsecus mortuus exulabas: subito initiatus Christi legibus, et salutaribus mysteriis innovatus, in corpus ecclesiæ non videndo sed credendo transilivisti, et de filio perditionis adoptivus Dei filius fieri occulta puritate meruisti: in mensura visibili permanens, major factus es teipso invisibiliter: sine quantitatis augmento, cum ipse atque idem esses, multo alter fidei processibus extitisti: in exteriori nihil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est: ac sic homo Christi filius effectus, et Christus in hominis mente formatus est. Decret. Gratian. De Consecrat. Dist. 2. p. 2097. Edit. Paris. 1612.]

writing upon the same chapter[1], *Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem?* "Why dost thou make ready thy teeth and belly?" *Vis manducare Christum?* "Wilt thou eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood?" And he answereth, *Crede et manducasti*, that is to say, "Believe; and I say unto thee, thou hast eaten his flesh and drunk his blood."

An objection answered.

But here the papists reply, that Christ's flesh is eaten in the sacrament, and without it: and that without the sacrament it is eaten only by faith; but in the sacrament it is eaten without faith, of those that eat it unworthily, as Judas did. I answer: Christ's flesh, as it is the bread of life, so always it doth give life to the spirit, which evil men

John vi.

have not. Moreover, Christ's flesh is meat, according to [his] own saying: *Caro mea vere est cibus*, "My flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink." What meat and drink is it?

Christ's flesh is the meat of the soul.

Verily, the meat and drink of the soul, not of the body; the food and sustenance, not of the flesh, but of the spirit; as the figures and sacraments of bread and wine are bodily

Man's soul is not fed with corporal food. John iii.

sustenance. For the spirit is not fed or nourished with corporal food; for it is written, *Quod natum est ex carne caro est*, "That which is born of flesh is flesh;" that is to say, carnal and fleshly. And Christ reproveth such which understood that he would give his flesh to be eaten

John vi.

really, and corporally, and substantially; saying, "The flesh profiteth nothing: it is the spirit which quickeneth. But there are some of you that believe not." As if he had said, 'I took not my body of the holy virgin to give it to be eaten really and naturally for the remission of sin, or to ordain any carnal eating; but I took my body, and became man, to die for sin, and that ways to profit and sanctify you. *Mortua prodest caro, non comesa*, The death of my flesh profiteth and availeth you, and not the eating thereof; which profit you must receive by faith only, and through belief in my passion, by the operation of the Spirit. My flesh is the bread of life, in that it shall be beaten, torn, and slain

[1 Quid faciemus, inquiunt? quid observando hoc præceptum implere poterimus? Respondit Jesus, et dixit eis, Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem misit ille. Hoc est ergo manducare cibum non qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam. Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti. August. in Joan. Evang. Opera, III. pars ii. 489. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

for you; not in that it shall be eaten.' For that the fruit, the benefit, and whole commodity of his coming should be distributed into the world by his death only, he teacheth us himself by a similitude, saying, *Nisi granum frumenti, dejectum in terram, mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet*, "Unless the corn which is sown in the ground do first die, it doth not increase; if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." So his body doth profit us, not in that we eat it really, but in that it was beaten, cruelly scourged, and slain for us, in that it was crucified, it is the bread of life, the bread of salvation, redemption, and justification. With these sentences Christ plucketh us from carnal eating; and teacheth us that his body is eaten by faith only in this life. John xii. 1 Cor. xv.

But I hear one say, which delighteth in his own wit, and thinketh that he can see further in a millstone beyond others, 'If we receive Christ's body by faith only, what needeth the sacrament? what booteth it to come to the Lord's table?'—saying, 'We may receive his body without the sacrament, wheresoever we be, if we believe upon him; whether we be in the field, or in the town, or in our beds.' Truly, if thou be honestly and godly affected, and dost revoke Christ's passion to thy memory, hoping for remission and pardon of thy offence through the shedding of his blood and through the death of his body, thou dost eat his body and drink his blood. But if thou regard not his sacrament, if thou regard not the promises which he hath annexed to his table, if thou pass not on his commandment, which is, "Take ye, eat and drink ye of this every one;" thou dost not believe, but art carnally minded and the servant of sin. Where faith is, there is also hope, modesty, humility, soberness, and obedience to God's precepts; for the nature of faith is to justify. Now carnal and disobedient men do not eat Christ's body; forasmuch as it is eaten only in spirit and in faith, that is, of spiritual and faithful men and women, always unto health and redemption, and never unto hurt or destruction. Thou mayest say likewise, 'I will not come to the church to pray, for God heareth me every where.' Thou mayest say likewise, 'I will not be absolved of the minister, for God is not bound to his sacraments, and he only blotteth out sin without the ceremony of ministration; as he did the

That both the spiritual and sacramental receipt are necessary.

Luke xxiii. Luke vii. sins of the thief, of Mary Magdalene, and of others.' True it is, God absolveth before thou come to the priest, if thou have earnest remorse and an unfeigned purpose to amend. Matt. viii. Luke v. For he cleansed the man from leprosy of whom Matthew speaketh, he raised Lazarus from the death of the body, Acts ix. and Paul from the death of the soul, before they were with Gen. xvii. any minister. He received also Abraham into his favour before he was circumcised. Notwithstanding, we have commandment to repair to the minister for absolution; for to them belongeth to loose and to bind, to bless and to curse, as appeareth of the foresaid ensamples. For Paul, after that he was lightened from above, was directed unto Ananias to receive imposition of hands. The leper also was commanded to shew himself to the priest for a witness to the congregation. And Lazarus after his uprising was delivered to Christ's disciples, which were priests, to be loosed and Rom. iv. stripped of his grave-bonds. And the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. after that he was justified and accepted into God's favour, he received the sacrament of circumcision as a seal of the righteousness which is by faith. So, albeit Christ's body be received in faith many times without the sacrament, yet thou must come unto his board because of his commandment, because of his promises, and also to receive spiritual comfort and increase of faith. Otherwise thou dost neither eat his body nor drink his blood, neither shalt thou be partaker of the fruits of his passion, which appertain to those only which, by receiving the memorial of his death, do shew themselves not to be unkind or forgetful, but obedient and thankful. It is not enough to receive it spiritually, we must receive it also sacramentally; for both receipts be required and commanded, and Christ himself with his apostles used both for our erudition, ensample, and instruction.

Here a question may be demanded, no less necessary to be known than hard to dissolve and answer: If Christ's [flesh] be eat only by faith, how is that true which I rehearsed out By worthy receipt we be made Christ's body really. of Chrysostom, that we are transformed into Christ and made his body, *non solum per fidem*, 'not only by faith,' *sed reipsa*, 'but also really, truly, and effectually?' You shall understand, well-beloved in the Lord, that when we receive Christ in faith, that this receipt joineth and coupleth us effectually and really unto Christ. Not only our hearts and

minds, but also our bodies and flesh be purified, be washed, and cleansed by this receipt, so that Christ our head and Lord dwelleth and abideth in us hereby, and nourisheth and feedeth us continually with faith in his blood and with the comfort of his holy Spirit; making us lively, holy, and very members of his mystical body. This is the effect and meaning of Chrysostom's words, in which he affirmeth that we are made the body of Christ really, truly, and effectually.

Hitherto I have declared unto you two matters: what it is to eat Christ's body, and that three similitudes, or properties, be necessarily required in this sacrament; as I have proved, as well by evident texts of the gospel, as with the authority of many of the elder and best learned fathers of Christ's church, whose doctrine and interpretations I exhort all men to follow. Of these similitudes or properties we may gather, that the matter and natures of bread and wine do remain, and that Christ's words, "This is my body," be as much to say as, 'This is a sacrament of my body.' For these similitudes and properties must be in the bread and wine, in that they be sacraments, and after the consecration, else they are no sacraments. For take away the substance, matter, and nature of them, and what similitude or property remaineth, either of nutrition, or of unity, or of conversion? Ergo, the essence, nature, matter, and substance of bread and wine, is not altered, not transformed, not transubstantiate, but do remain and continue as before; for these properties and similitudes be in the very substance and inward nature of bread and wine.

The schoolmen and papists, to defend and maintain their transubstantiation, which is the bishop of Rome's kingdom, and the fortress and castle of all superstition and idolatry, they make the accidents of bread and wine the sensible and outward sign, and the visible, earthly, and terrenal nature of this sacrament. When thou meetest with such a schoolmaster that teacheth this doctrine, and that the bread is not bread still, answer him thus: "Sir, there must be three similitudes and properties in the sacrament; a similitude of nourishing, a similitude of unity, another of conversion. But these three properties and similitudes cannot be in the outward shew of accidents; that is, in the colour, in the fashion, in the breadth and roundness, in the quantity of

An objection.

The answer.

bread and wine; for these things, nor no other accidents, do not nourish and feed us, be not converted into us, neither have they any property or similitude of any unity. But the bread and wine have all these similitudes: they do nourish, they be turned into our nature, and they do contain a similitude of unity. Therefore bread and wine is the outward and sensible sign, and the terrenal nature of this sacrament. And the bread is bread still, and the wine is wine still, as well after the consecration as afore; or else they be no sacraments. And yet, notwithstanding, they be named the body and blood of Christ; not because of any mutation, change, or alteration of their natures and substances, but because of the three similitudes and properties aforesaid." Answer papistical teachers on this wise, and with this reason; and they shall not be able to gainsay thee.

Now let us enter somewhat further into the text, and into other matters. Christ, speaking of the cup, saith, *Hic est sanguis novi testamenti*, "This is my blood of the new testament," or of the new covenant. What mean these words, 'the new testament,' and what is a new testament? Verily, a testament is as much to say as a legacy, or behest of goods. So St Austin[1] defineth it: *Testamentum est quo defertur bonorum hæreditas;* "A testament," saith St Austin, "is a behest and legacy of goods." And there is an old testament, and a new testament, as Christ teacheth us here. The old testament is a bequest and legacy of temporal goods and earthly commodities unto the synagogue of the Jews. The new testament is a bequest of eternal and heavenly inheritance through Christ unto all men, both Jews and Gentiles. Or otherwise, the old testament is the axe set to the root of the trees, the law which causeth anger; that is, the preaching of the law against wicked men, for *lex justo non*

What a testament is.

St Austin.

The old testament, what it is.

What the new testament is.

Matt. iii. Luke iii. Rom. iv.

[1] There are several definitions of a testament in the works of St Augustine; the following is one which Hutchinson seems to have had in his mind, although it is not in the precise words which he has given. We may infer from his subsequent definition of the old testament that this passage was certainly known to him. "Judæi....terrena quærebant a Domino: terra enim promissionis, victoria ab inimicis, fœcunditas pariendi, multiplicatio filiorum, abundantia fructuum,....omnia hæc fecerunt illis vetus testamentum. Quid est vetus testamentum? Quasi hæreditas pertinens ad hominem veterem." Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Opera, III. 519. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

est posita, "the law," saith Paul, "was not ordained for good men, but for evil:" and therefore he defineth it in another place to be "ministration of death and damnation." But the new testament is a sermon of God's mercy and clemency, of salvation, of redemption, and righteousness, through the effusion of Christ's blood, who calleth all men and women from superstition to true holiness, from shadows to light, from the letter to the spirit, and from the works to the flesh to labour and work in his vineyard; that is, to honour and glorify God by well doing, in hope of plenteous reward. Wherefore St Paul unto the Corinthians nameth it "the ministration of the Spirit and of righteousness." And he compareth the first testament to Agar, to Abraham's bondwoman, and the second he likeneth to Sara, his lawful wife and a free woman; signifying hereby, that the one doth gender unto bondage, and the other to eternal life.

1 Tim. i.

2 Cor. iii.

Gal. iv.

Both testaments be yet effectual.

And both testaments do remain yet, and be effectual at this day. The old testament is not disannulled in evil men, but in good men. For such as live in sin and ignorance of God, and do measure and judge holiness by outward ceremonies, and such as do gape greedily after earthly things, such as be Julianites, and without conscience, and do think mortal *corpo*, mortal *anima;* all such belong to the old testament, and be yet under the stroke of the axe, under the law which causeth anger. And from the beginning of the world good men, as Adam, Enoch, Sem, Noe, Abraham, and David, which in all their ceremonies had an eye to Messias, and believed in Christ to come, were of the new testament and under grace. Therefore, if thou wilt come to Christ's table, beware that thou be not of the old testament, that is, defiled with sin and iniquity, and without repentance, and an unjust getter and retainer of worldly commodities. For Christ calleth his table "the blood of the new testament." The nature of this table and of Christ's blood is such, that if thou presume to come unto it unworthily, with a belly corrupt with naughty humours, that is, with sin and iniquity, it will lead thee unto thy destruction, as it did Judas; not of the nature of it, but through thy great default, who dost not try thyself before thou comest. Yea, if we be defiled with sin, we be no partakers of these dainties, we do not drink the blood of life. Of these few words which I have spoken in

this matter, you may gather both what the testaments be, and also how they do differ.

But percase you are desirous to learn more plainly what is the meaning of these words, "This is my blood of the new testament." Verily, these words be as much to say as, 'This is a sacrament of my blood, which was let forth and shed for the remission of sins. This is another blood, and a diverse, from the blood of the old law. Their blood was their sacraments, in which the old Christians which did pertain to the new law did drink Christ through faith. The rock was their blood and their paschal lamb, their sacrifices of goats, oxen, and sheep; to which evil men came as well as good; but the evil did not drink Christ's blood, but only the figure thereof, because it is of the new law, and they were of the old law. But the old Christians, that is, they which in drinking of the rock, and in eating their lamb, and other sacrifices, had an eye and a faith in Christ to come, did eat his body and drink his blood as truly, as really, and as effectually as we do. For they were of the new testament as well as we; and therefore they drank the very spiritual blood of the new testament, in that they believed upon the Seed promised. Hereunto Paul beareth witness, saying: "Our fathers did all eat of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink. For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ." And the Psalmographe saith: *Panem de cœlo dedit eis, &c.* "That God gave them bread from heaven, and the bread of angels;" which bread is Christ, as he teacheth us himself, saying, *Amen, amen, dico vobis, non Moses dedit, &c.* "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses did not give you bread from heaven, but my Father," &c. That he is the bread which his Father gave them, he declareth, saying, "I am that living bread which came down from heaven." Whereof it is evident, that the old Christians, of which Paul speaketh in the text afore rehearsed, did from the foundation of the world eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood, as really and effectually as we do now.

That the old Christians did eat Christ's flesh as really as we do.

1 Cor. x.

Psal. lxxviii.

Psal. cv.

John vi.

But the ungodly which were before his birth did neither eat his flesh nor drink his blood; as Christ himself teacheth us, saying, *Patres vestri manducaverunt manna, et mortui sunt,* "Your fathers," saith Christ, "did eat manna,

John vi.

and be dead." Note, that he saith not our fathers, but your fathers; as if he had said, 'Your fathers, which would not believe the prophets, but were persecutors of them and blood-suckers, as you be, they did eat manna, that is, the sensible sacrament, *et mortui sunt;* and yet they were not partakers of the fruits of my death, but died eternally. But the old fathers which before my incarnation believed in me to come, did not only eat the sensible sign and outward sacrament of manna, but also tasted the dainties of my honourable body and blood, which are the bread of life and redemption; and they died not, but do live thereby.' For of such Paul saith, that they drank of the spiritual rock. 1 Cor. x. But because you shall not think that I do wrest the scriptures, to prove that the old Christians did eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood in their sacraments, hear what the godly and learned bishop St Austin saith to this matter. He, upon the sixth chapter of St John's gospel, speaking of the old fathers' eating and ours, and by occasion expounding there the text of Paul, affirmeth evidently that which I have taught, saying: *Omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducaverunt: spiritalem utique eandem: nam corporalem alteram, quia illi manna, nos aliud; spiritalem vero, quam nos; sed patres nostri, non patres illorum: quibus nos similes sumus, non quibus illi similes fuerunt;* which words, in effect, be thus much to say, "They all," saith this learned and elder father, speaking of the old Christians, "did eat one spiritual meat. They did eat one spiritual meat, not one corporal meat; for manna was their corporal meat, that is, their outward and terrenal sacrament; but another thing, that is, bread and wine, is our corporal meat and our sacrament. They did eat the same spiritual meat, that is, Christ's body, which we do eat. But our fathers, as Paul saith, that is, such godly men as we are like unto, did eat this spiritual meat to their health and salvation; but your fathers, which were oppressors of the prophets, whose ways you do follow, did not eat Christ's body, but only the corporal meat of manna, the figure and sacrament thereof, to their death and condemnation: and therefore of them Christ saith, *Mortui sunt*, 'that they died,' meaning the second death." This is St Austin's doctrine of the sacrament, not only upon the foresaid

St Austin in Joan. [Opera, III. 498. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.] 1 Cor. x.

St August. li. de utili. veræ pœ.

chapter, but also in his book which he writeth, *De utilitate veræ pœnitentiæ agendæ*, "[1]How profitable a thing it is to do worthy penance;" and in his nineteenth book against Faustus[2].

Lib. xix. contra Faustum. cap. 16.

An objection.

Here you will say, St Austin, in his preface upon psalm LXXIII., doth extol our sacraments above the sacraments of the old law for divers causes. If they did receive Christ's body and blood in their sacraments, how is this true? Wherein are ours better? I answer: Our sacraments are better than theirs, not of themselves, not of their own nature, of their own dignity and worthiness, but because of the fulness of time, because the face of Jesus Christ is now more clearly discovered and known in the new testament. Their sacraments, as St Austin[3] saith

The answer.

St Austin in Psal. 73.

[1] Sic enim quibusdam illis infidelibus dicit Dominus: "Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in eremo et mortui sunt." Quid est enim, "Patres vestri," nisi quos infidelitate imitamini, quorum vias non credendo et Deo resistendo sectamini? Secundum quem intellectum quibusdam dicit, "Vos a patre diabolo estis." Neque enim diabolus aliquem hominem vel potentia creavit, vel generando procreavit: et tamen dicitur pater impiorum, non propter generationem, sed propter imitationem. Sicut e contra de bonis dicitur, "Ergo semen Abrahæ estis," cum loquatur gentibus, quæ stirpem carnis ex Abrahæ genere non ducebant. Filii enim erant, non nascendo sed imitando. . . . . Sicut ergo hoc loco dicit, "Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in eremo et mortui sunt;" non enim intellexerunt quod manducaverunt; itaque non intelligentes, cibum non nisi corporalem acceperunt: sic et apostolus dicit, "Patres nostros," non patres infidelium, non patres impiorum, manducantes et morientes, sed patres nostros, patres fidelium, spiritualem cibum manducasse, et ideo eumdem. Augustin. De Util. agend. pœnit. Opera, v. 1365. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[2] Adversus calumniosam imperitiam Fausti demonstrare sufficerit, quanto errore delirent, qui putant, signis sacramentisque mutatis, etiam res ipsas esse diversas, quas ritus propheticus prænuntiavit promissas, et quas ritus evangelicus annuntiavit impletas; aut qui censent, cum res eædem sint, non eas aliis sacramentis annuntiari debuisse completas, quam iis quibus adhuc complendæ prænuntiabantur. Augustin. contra Faust. Lib. XIX. c. XVI. Opera, VIII. 321. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[3] Si enim discernimus duo testamenta, vetus et novum, non sunt eadem sacramenta, nec eadem promissa. . . . Sacramenta non eadem, quia alia sunt sacramenta dantia salutem, alia promittentia Salvatorem. Sacramenta novi testamenti dant salutem, sacramenta veteris testamenti promiserunt Salvatorem. Augustin. in Psalm LXXIII. Opera, IV. 769. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

in the aforesaid place, *promittebant salvatorem*, "did promise Christ," that is, did shadow, figure, and preach him to come; ours *dant salutem*, "do give health by Christ," that is, do shew him to our eyes, as it were upon a scaffold, already come. They were under the yoke of the law, under the letter, under many riddles, under figures and shadows, as children; but we are under grace, under the Spirit, under the verity, under fewer rites, and under a more excellent testament, as co-heirs with Christ. God spake to them by patriarchs and holy prophets, and by other means, as it pleased him. But now is the time which the patriarchs desired to see, the acceptable and golden time, and the days of salvation, in which God speaketh both to the Jews and to the Gentiles by Jesus Christ, his own Word and Wisdom, as Paul declareth. For these causes St Austin in the aforesaid place, and in other places, preferreth our sacraments and rites of the new testament to the old law; not for their own dignity, for their own excellency and worthiness, nor through any transubstantiation. Read his preface aforesaid, and there thou shalt find these causes which I have rehearsed, and no other. Notwithstanding the old Christians did drink Christ's blood, and eat his flesh, yet they, I say, had another blood, that is, a divers sacrament from us. They had a paschal lamb, a rock, the blood of oxen and of sheep, in their sacrifices: we have wine instead of them. For seeing the testaments be changed, and the priesthood and law is altered, therefore the sacraments also be newed and changed. "This," saith Christ of wine, "this is my blood of the new testament:" that is, 'a new sacrament of my blood, a certificate of my last will and testament. This is a testimony, and as it were the broad seal and patent of my benevolence, of my clemency and favour towards you.'

Heb. i.

And this similitude declareth very aptly and fitly how his body and blood are present in his holy supper. The body and blood of Jesus Christ be in his holy supper, as thy house, with thy garden and other commodities, is in thy lease, which thou hast by the college seal of Eton or of Windsor; or as thy living is in thy patent, which thou hast confirmed and ratified with the broad seal of England. The words of Christ's supper be, as it were, a lease or

How Christ's body is present.

patent. The sacrament is, as it were, his broad seal and his stamp, to certify the [thy] weak faith, that God the Father doth love and favour thee, and dwell in thee by the grace of his holy Spirit, for his sake. Thy house and garden be not locally, not really, nor corporally, in thy lease; but effectually and sufficiently for thy profit and commodity. So Christ's body and blood be in bread and wine. This is no new similitude of mine own making, for I told you that I would speak nothing of mine own head: it is the similitude of Gregory Nazianzen, an excellent clerk and a holy father of the Greek church. He, twelve hundred years agone, writing against the opinion which is called now the Donatists' opinion, used this similitude, and affirmeth all sacraments to be seals[1]. St Austin, also, in his book which he writeth upon the salutation of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, calleth them *sacrosancta signacula*[2], that is, 'holy seals.'

Grego. Nazianzen.

St August. in saluta. ad Rom.

But thou wilt say, 'These be high matters and above

[1 Μὴ ζήτει ἀξιοπιστίαν τοῦ κηρύσσοντος, μηδὲ τοῦ βαπτίζοντος. Ἄλλος ὁ τούτων κριτὴς, καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων δοκιμαστής· ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰς πρόσωπον, Θεὸς δὲ εἰς καρδίαν. Σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ἀξιόπιστος εἰς τὴν κάθαρσιν· μόνον ἔστω τὶς τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ μὴ τῶν προδήλως κατεγνωσμένων, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος. Μὴ κρῖνε τοὺς κριτὰς, ὁ χρήζων τῆς ἰατρείας· μηδὲ φιλοκρίνει μοι τὰς ἀξίας τῶν σὲ καθαιρόντων, μηδὲ διακρίνου πρὸς τοὺς γεννήτορας. Ἄλλος μὲν ἄλλου κρείττων, ἢ ταπεινότερος· σοῦ δὲ πᾶς ὑψηλότερος. Σκόπει δὲ οὕτως· ἔστω χρυσὸς, ἔστω σίδηρος, δακτύλιοι δὲ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐγκεχαράχθωσαν εἰκόνα βασιλικὴν, εἶτα κηρὸν ἐντυπούτωσαν· τί διοίσει ἡ σφραγὶς αὕτη τῆς σφραγῖδος ἐκείνης; οὐδέν. Ἐπίγνωθι τὴν ὕλην ἐν τῷ κηρῷ, κἂν ᾖς σοφώτατος, εἰπὲ, τί μὲν τοῦ σιδήρου, τί δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ ἐκσφράγισμα, καὶ πῶς ἔν ἐστι; τῆς γαρ ὕλης τὸ διάφορον, οὐ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος. Οὕτως ἔστω σοι πᾶς βαπτιστής. Κἂν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προέχῃ, ἀλλ' ἥ γε τοῦ βαπτίσματος δύναμις ἴση· καὶ τελειοποιὸς σοι πᾶς ὁμοίως, ὁ τῇ αὐτῇ πίστει μεμορφωμένος. Greg. Naz. Oratio xl. Opera, ii. 711. Edit. Paris. 1778.]

[2 Cornelius Centurio voluntatem Dei utique apostolo Petro docente cognovit, et ipsum Spiritum sanctum, manifestissimis coadtestantibus signis, antequam baptizaretur, accepit: quamquam non ideo sacramenta illa contemserit, sed multo certius baptizatus sit; ut etiam ipsa sacrosancta signacula, quorum res in eo præcesserat, ad perficiendam scientiam veritatis percipere nullo modo moraretur. Augustin. in salutat. ad Rom. Opera, iv. 936. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

my capacity. Tell me how I shall prepare myself to receive this sacrament.' Many, coming to the Lord's table, do misbehave themselves, and so do the lookers on, in that they worship the sacrament with kneeling and bowing their bodies, and knocking their breasts, and with elevation of their hands. If it were to be elevated, and shewed unto the standers by, as it hath been used, Christ would have elevated it above his head. He delivered it into the hands of his disciples, bidding them to eat it, and not to hold up their hands; to receive it, and not to worship it; and he delivered it to them sitting, and not kneeling. If either the bread or the wine were to be heaved up, or to be reserved and hanged up in a pix, as it hath been abused; if it were to be honoured of the receivers, or to be kneeled unto of the lookers on; undoubtedly Christ would have left us some commandment so to do, or else have taught us by his ensample; or, at the least, he would have left some promise of reward annexed to this outward reverence and homage, or some threatening and punishment for such as will not worship it. Aye, verily; for there is nothing laudable, nothing righteous, nothing honest or acceptable in God's sight, nothing to be done, for the which he hath not left in his scriptures either some commandment, or some promise of reward, or some example. By his promises, by his threatenings, by his precepts, and through the examples of godly men and women, we know good from evil; we know what is to be done, and what is to be left undone; what is to be praised, and what is to be dispraised; what delighteth and pleaseth, and what discontenteth and displeaseth, the divine majesty. God's book is no imperfect work, but a perfect book, containing all things to be done, the whole duty of a christian man, and sufficient doctrine to instruct a God's-man in all good works, and to make him perfect; as Paul witnesseth, writing to Timothe. And he must needs accuse God either of ignorancy, or of folly, or of negligence, which saith, that he hath left any thing untouched and undeclared which concerneth a christian man's office, and is needful and necessary unto salvation. All such things be expressed in God's book. For in the writing of the prophets he requireth the observation of his law only concerning religion; and he threateneth great plagues and

Christ is not to be honoured in form of bread and wine.

2 Tim. ii.

grievous punishments to those that do add any thing to his word, that is, to those which teach any other doctrine, or any work to be necessary unto salvation, which is not commended in his word. But neither Christ, nor any of the prophets, nor his disciples, do give us any example to honour the sacrament; for they kneeled not, neither held up their hands, but sat at the table, as the text witnesseth. Neither doth God promise any benefit, either spiritual or temporal, to such as honour it; nor he doth not give us any precept so to do, neither in the old nor new testament. Therefore I say unto you, that it is sin to worship the sacrament, to hold up thy hands, or to bow thy body and kneel to it. For to worship God otherwise than he hath taught us in his holy book, which is the bible, is mere idolatry. Be not deceived, good people, nor bewitched with superstition and false holiness: for the apostle St Paul
Rom. xiv. saith, *Quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est*, "Whatsoever is not of faith (which cometh, as Paul saith also, by hearing God's word) is sin." If thou wilt honour the sacrament, I ask thee, whether thou do it with faith or without faith. If thou do it through faith, shew me some text, some testimony, some authority of God's word, or some example in God's
Rom. x. book; for, *fides ex auditu*, "Faith," saith Paul, "cometh by hearing God's word." If thou worship it without God's word, without faith which cometh only by God's word, hear
Heb. xi. what Paul saith to thee: "It is impossible to please God without faith." For to worship God otherwise than he hath taught us, is heresy, is idolatry, is disworship and dishonour
Socrates. of the divine majesty. Socrates, a heathen and no christian man, and yet a learned and a great famous clerk, he in
[Xenophon, Memorab. Lib. iv. c. 3.] his life time held this assertion, that every God is to be honoured and worshipped after such manner, and with such ceremonies and rites, as he himself teacheth and commandeth. He did attribute more wisdom and more authority to false gods, than we do to the God of heaven and earth, who is the fountain of all wisdom, power, and authority. It is to be feared that he, at the last day, shall arise to the condemnation of many which profess Christ.

An objection. St August. in Psal. 98. But here some reply, that St Austin, writing upon these words, *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus*, "Worship the footstool of my [his] feet," that he maketh Christ's flesh, which

is earth, the footstool of God's feet, and that he affirmeth and proveth of this text, that Christ's flesh is to be honoured. For his words be, *Nemo illam carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit: et non solum non peccatur adorando, verum peccatur non adorando;* that is to say, "No man may eat that flesh before he first do honour it: and it is not only [not] sin to honour it, but it is sin not to honour it." [Opera, iv. 1065. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

I do not deny that Christ's flesh is to be honoured and worshipped. God forbid: for it is promoted to the fellowship of the Deity, and joined in unity of person to the divine nature. But I deny that the sacrament is to be worshipped; the bread and wine are not to be honoured; for they are not his flesh really and corporally, but a certificate, a seal, a patent, or lease thereof, as I have proved. The answer.

How is Christ's flesh to be honoured? Verily, Christ's flesh is to be honoured in heaven, not in the form of bread and wine; in glory, and at the right hand of God the Father, not in the sacrament. It is honoured by coming to his supper, and by obeying his precept, "Take, eat and drink of this all;" by receiving of the sacrament, not with elevation of hands to bread and wine, or with knocking, or with kneeling before bread and wine. His blood and body are honoured, even as they are drunk and eaten: that is, by faith in them, and by giving of thanks to him for his dishonour and death, and by confessing him to be without a father very natural man of his mother, after the fulness of time, for our redemption; and very God, begotten by his Father without a mother before all time. So the wise men, which came from the east parts by the leading of a star, worshipped him at his birth; and are therefore commended, and preserved from king Herod's cruelty. "They kneeled down," saith the text, "and worshipped him, and opened their treasures, and offered gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh." By gold, they confessed him to be a king; by frankincense, they acknowledge him to be God, for all nations do offer that only to such which they take to be gods; and by myrrh, with which such as die be anointed, they confessed him to be a mortal and natural man. So do thou kneel to Christ, and worship his body and blood; not in the east parts, but in the heavenly Jerusalem, and at the throne of God's majesty; not in the sacrament, but

How Christ's flesh is to be honoured.

Psal. lxxii. Matt. ii.

in heaven, where he is now at the right hand of his Father. Offer unto him their frankincense and myrrh: that is, confess him to be very God and very natural man; confess him, from the bottom of thy heart, to be thy Lord and thy Saviour; and render unto him many thanks and due praises for humbling himself to man's nature for thy redemption and honour. This is the true and right honour with which he would have his body worshipped. Hold up thy hands to Christ's body in heaven, and spare not. Kneel to it, knock on thy breast. If thou wilt kneel and worship it in the sacrament, thou dost like as if the aforesaid wise men had in the east parts worshipped him in the star, had kneeled to him in the star, and offered their gifts to the same, which had been idolatry; and so is this.

Thou must go to Bethleem, that is, to *the house of* spiritual *bread*, which bread is Christ in the glory of God the Father, and there thou must worship his body; not in the form of bread and wine. For Bethleem is an Hebrue word, and in Latin and English it is as much to say as, *domus panis*, "the house of bread." You have heard one way, how Christ's body may be honoured. Chrysostom, a learned and a holy father of Christ's church, teacheth us another way in a certain homily which he writeth to the people of Antioch, *De sumentibus indigne divina et sancta mysteria*, "Of such which unworthily and irreverently presume to come to God's holy mysteries." He there, speaking of the worshipping of Christ's body, doth not teach them to kneel, or to hold up their hands to the sacrament; but a clean other way. Because you shall not think this to be new doctrine, which is the faith and doctrine of all the elder fathers, I will rehearse unto you his words. *Vis Christi corpus honorare?* "Wilt thou honour Christ's body?" saith Chrysostom; and he answereth, *Ne nudum cum despicias, &c.* "Then clothe him, and have pity on him, when thou seest him naked." And he addeth a reason: *Qui namque dixit, Hoc est corpus meum, et verbo factum confirmavit; idem dixit, Esurientem me vidistis, et non pavistis me; et, Quod non fecistis uni ex his minimis, neque mihi fecistis:* that is to say, "For he that said, 'This is my body,' and performed his word, said also, 'You saw me hungry, and fed me not;' and, 'That which you

Bethlehem, the house of bread.

Chrysostom homil. de sument. indigne divina myst.

Matt. xxv.

have not done to one of these little ones, you have not done to 'me'." He proceedeth further, and bringeth in Peter against those which do worship God after their own fantasies, saying: *Discamus itaque philosophari, et Christum prout ipse vult venerari;* "Let us learn this philosophy," saith Chrysostom, "that is, to honour Christ as he hath willed us to honour him. For that honour is most acceptable to him which is honourable or worshipful, which he doth esteem, and not which we do imagine. For Peter thought no less but that he honoured Christ when he for- John xiii.
bade him to wash his feet: notwithstanding, he did not honour him herein, but rather did dishonour and disworship him. So do thou worship and honour him with pity and liberality towards the poor[1]." These be the words of Chrysostom in his homily against such as come unworthily to God's mysteries: in which he teacheth us, that "to honour Christ's body" is "to glorify him by doing of good works." For this cause he took upon him his body, and became a natural man of woman's seed; as it is written, "God hath Luke i.
raised up a horn of health unto us in the house, that is, of the stock and kindred, of his servant David." And why? It followeth: "That we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, should serve and worship him without fear all the days of our life, in holiness and righteousness before him." I have declared two ways how Christ's body and blood are to be worshipped. One way is, by faith in his blood, by giving thanks to him for his incarnation and coming, and by offering him frankincense and myrrh, that is, by confessing him to be very God and very natural man.

[1 Βούλει τιμῆσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ σῶμα; μὴ περιΐδῃς αὐτὸν γυμνόν· μηδὲ ἔνταυθα μὲν αὐτὸν σηρικοῖς ἱματίοις τιμήσῃς, ἔξω δὲ ὑπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ γυμνότητος διαφθειρόμενον περιΐδῃς. ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν, τοῦτο μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα βεβαιώσας, οὗτος εἶπε· πεινῶντά με ἴδετε, καὶ οὐκ ἐθρέψατε· καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.....μάθωμεν τοίνυν φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τιμᾶν ὡς αὐτὸς βούλεται· τῷ γὰρ τιμουμένῳ τιμὴ ἡδίστη, ἣν αὐτὸς θέλει, οὐχ ἣν ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Πέτρος τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ᾤετο τῷ κωλύσαι νίψαι τοὺς πόδας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τιμὴ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον· οὕτω καὶ σὺ ταύτην αὐτὸν τίμα τὴν τιμήν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐνομοθέτησεν, εἰς πένητας ἀναλίσκων τὸν πλοῦτον. Chrysostom. Opera, VII. 518. Edit. Paris. 1718—38.]

Another way to honour it is, to serve him in holiness and righteousness, and to exercise in earth the works of mercy towards the poor. The elder fathers used no other worship toward Christ's body before Honorius the third, bishop of Rome. He first commanded bread and wine to be worshipped with elevation of hands, *anno post Christum* 1226. *Lib.* 2. *Decret. titul. de celebra. missarum*[1]. For the space of a thousand years there was no such custom.

Honorius the Third, 1226. Lib. ii. Decret.

The papists object here, that the body of Christ is present under the form of bread, to be honoured. If, saith the papists, a man say unto thee, 'This is my right hand,' or, 'This is a stone,' thou believest him. God saith, "This is my body," and not, 'This is a figure of my body,' or, 'This doth signify my body;' and, "He that eateth my flesh hath life," not, 'He that eateth a figure of my flesh,' and we do not believe him; but do make of sugar salt, and of cheese chalk. I answer, Christ doth not say, This is transformed, this is turned, this is transubstantiate into my body; neither that the nature and substance of wine doth discontinue, or is excluded; as you would force the words. Here resteth all the matter, how this word, *est*, is to be understand; which is never taken in that sense in which they would take it here. Throughout the bible no transubstantiation is expressed by this word, nor by no other phrase: the scriptures speak of no such mutation. But the other phrase, 'this is,' for, 'this is a figure,' is common and dashed every where in the scriptures. "The rock," saith Paul, "was Christ;" that is, a figure of Christ. He nameth him also the Easter lamb; which was but a figure of him. He is called a stone. The word of God is named seed, a sword, a key, a lantern. God is called our banner, our castle. John the Christener is named a burning candle; and he nameth the law *securim*, "an axe, which is set at the root of the trees:" which all be figurative speeches. And the elder fathers do so expound this text.

An objection.

The answer.

This is the doctrine of the elder fathers, and scriptures.

1 Cor. x. 1 Cor. v. Acts iv. Matt. xxi. 1 Pet. ii. Eph. ii. Mark iv. Luke viii. Rev. xix. Eph. vi. Matt. xvi. Luke xi. Psal. cxix. Prov. ix. Psal. lxi. Prov. xviii. John v. Matt. iii.

[1] Ne propter incuriam sacerdotum divina indignatio gravius exardescat, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus a sacerdotibus eucharistia in loco singulari, mundo, et signato semper honorifice collocata, devote ac fideliter conservetur. Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet, idem faciens, cum eam defert presbyter ad infirmum. Decret. Greg. IX. p. 1272. Edit. Paris. 1612.]

They confess and teach Christ to speak here figuratively. "Christ," saith Tertullian, who was but two hundred and ten years after Christ, and thirteen hundred years agone, he, *Lib.* iv. against Marcion, who said that Christ had no natural body, but only apparent flesh and a fantastical body, saith thus: "Christ, taking bread and dealing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is, 'a figure of my body[2].'" And of these words he contriveth an argument against Marcion, in this wise: "But the bread cannot be a figure of it, if Christ had no true body. For a vain thing, or fantasy, can take no figure." Lo, how this ancient father expoundeth these words. St Austin also taketh Christ's words in like manner, saying thus in his preface upon the third psalm: "He admitted Judas unto the maundy, wherein he delivered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood[3]." And Ambrose, in his book of Sacraments, speaking of the cup, saith that we drink there *Similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis*, "The similitude of his precious blood[4]." But though they

Tertul. li. 4. cont. Marc.

St August. prefa. sup. Psal. iii.

Ambros. de Sacram.

[2 Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus), acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, hoc est, corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis. Faciebat ad vanitatem Marcionis, ut panis crucifigeretur. Tertullian. advers. Marcion. Lib. iv. c. 40. Opera. 457, Edit. Paris. 1664.]

[3 Et in historia novi testamenti ipsa Domini nostri tanta et tam miranda patientia, quod eum tamdiu pertulit tamquam bonum, cum ejus cogitationes non ignoraret, eum adhibuit ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit; quod denique in ipsa traditione osculum accepit, bene intelligitur pacem Christum exhibuisse traditori suo; quamvis ille tam sceleratæ cogitationis interno bello vastaretur. August. Præf. Psal. iii. Opera iv. 7. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[4 Ergo didicisti quod ex pane corpus fiat Christi, et quod vinum et aqua in calicem mittitur, sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi cœlestis. Sed forte dicis: Speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet similitudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis; ut nullus horror cruoris sit, et pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didicisti ergo quia quod accipis, corpus est Christi. Ambrosius De Sacrament. Lib. iv. Opera, ii. 370. Edit. Paris. 1686—90.]

say that Christ's aforesaid words be a figurative speech, they do not teach bread and wine to be bare and naked metaphors, but holy sacraments, having many promises annexed unto them; for which promises the visible signs be named Christ's body and blood, and not for any mutation of their natures or substances. Therefore, albeit thou hast been led and made to believe in times past, that this doctrine is new learning, yet think not so hereafter.

It is the doctrine of Christ, the faith of the old fathers, the confession of innumerable martyrs, which have ratified it with the loss of their lives, in hope of plenteous reward hereafter in the kingdom of God. That we may have grace to believe the truth concerning this holy sacrament, to use it aright, and to refuse all false doctrine; and that these words which I have spoken in your outward ears may sink into your hearts and minds; let us call on the name of Christ, who ordained this sacrament, with invocation and prayer.

THE PRAYER.

O Christ, the Son of God, and our saving health, who dost affirm bread to be thy body, and wine to be thy blood, because of certain properties and similitudes, the nature notwithstanding and the matter of the signs remaining and continuing; hear our prayers and supplications, and grant unto us, for thy merciful promises, these our requests. As our outward man and natural flesh is nourished with bread and wine, so of thy clemency nourish and feed our inward man with the food of thy sweet flesh. And as bread and wine are made of divers grains, and of the juice of many grapes, nevertheless they are but one loaf and one cup of wine; so work thou in us one heart and mind, and knit us in a continual amity, godly love, and unity, by the operation of thy holy Spirit. And as the natures of the signs are turned and converted into our nature, so do thou convert, turn, and transform us into thy nature, making us thy body, and holy flesh of thy flesh; not only

by faith, but also really and effectually; that is, lively, holy, and very members of thy mystical body. Abide always in us, and nourish us continually with the grace of thy almighty Spirit, with the food of thy eternal word, with faith in thy holy blood, and with the death of thy precious and natural body: which thy body is the bread of life to us, the bread of redemption and righteousness; not really eaten, but in that it was cruelly beaten and slain for us. Teach us the right use of this thy sacrament, and deliver us from superstition, idolatry, and ignorancy, with which both we and our forefathers have been snared and fettered in times past. Fulfil these our desires and petitions, of thy voluntary goodness and free mercy; who livest and reignest in one glory and equal majesty with the Father and the Holy Spirit, world without end.

So be it.

THE THIRD SERMON

ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

HITHERTO, Christian hearers, I have furnished Christ's supper with two sermons, as it were with two dishes. There remaineth yet a parcel unspoken of, which now I intend to finish. I have declared the meaning, the effect, and the understanding, of these words of Christ our Lord, *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c. "This is my body, and this is my blood of the new testament." And I have shewed, as well out of the scriptures, as also by the authority of the elder and learned fathers of God's church, that they are thus much to say: 'This is a sacrament of my body and blood; this is a certificate of my favour; a testimony and (as it were) a broad seal and patent, that God my Father is reconciled unto you, that he doth embrace, that he doth love you and dwell in you by the grace of his holy Spirit, for the effusion of my blood and death of my body.'

That Christ's flesh is received always unto salvation.

I told you also, what it is to eat Christ's body; that it is not eaten really, or corporally, forasmuch as it is the meat and sustenance, not of our bodies and flesh, but of our spirit and inward man, which are not fed or nourished with any corporal nature or bodily substance. Or, to express this thing more plainly, Christ's flesh is *panis vitæ*, "the bread of life," in that it was beaten, not in that it is eaten. It is the bread of salvation, of redemption, of sanctification, of righteousness, and of justification, in that it was cruelly scourged and slain for us, and not through any corporal, any real or natural, receipt. As he teacheth us himself, John vi., reproving those which understood that he would give his body to be really and substantially eaten, saying, *Caro non prodest quidcunque, &c.* "The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the spirit that quickeneth:" that is to say, 'The spiritual receipt and eating doth profit and sanctify you; the bodily and corporal eating is unprofitable.'

To eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood, is to believe that the Son of God, concerning his humanity and flesh, was nailed on the cross, and that his blood was let

forth for the expiation of our sins, and for our redemption and righteousness, and to repose us again into God's favour. And this spiritual receipt, which is by faith, is so effectual, and of so mighty and so vehement an operation, that, as matrimony maketh man and wife one flesh, according as it is written, *erunt duo in carne una*, so it joineth us unto Christ *reipsa*, that is, really, truly, and effectually, making us flesh of his flesh and bones of his bones, as Paul witnesseth; that is, lively, holy, and very members of his mystical body. For Paul doth not speak there only of natural flesh, but also of holy flesh, and clean from sin; which shall arise and be immortal, not by the course of nature, nor by Adam, but through Christ, who doth knit, and couple, and incorporate his chosen to himself by his sacraments and faith; so that they may truly thenceforth say with Paul, *Vivo, jam non ego, sed vivit in me Christus*, "I live, yet now not I, but Christ liveth in me." God's holy word knoweth no other receipt of Christ's very body and natural flesh, neither in the sacrament nor without it.

Gen. ii. Matt. xix. Eph. v. Gal. ii.

Neither any of the elder fathers of Christ's church do acknowledge or teach any other eating. Because it is too long a matter to allege them all, I will allege two or three of the chief and principal and best learned, of which the adversaries of the truth do brag not a little. St Austin, a famous godly and learned father of Christ's church, writing upon St John's gospel, affirmeth this eating most plain; saying, *Credere in eum, hoc est, manducare panem vivum, &c.* "To believe upon Christ," saith this holy father, "is to eat the bread of life." And again: *Qui credit manducat, et invisibiliter saginatur;* "He that believeth eateth, and is fed invisibly[1]."

St Austin in Evang. Joan.

Here percase thou wilt say: As Christ spiritually and worthily is received by faith, of good men, unto salvation, so evil men do in the sacrament eat his flesh unworthily,

An objection.

[1] Daturus ergo Dominus Spiritum sanctum dixit se panem qui de cœlo descendit, hortans ut credamus in eum. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit manducat; invisibiliter saginatur, quia invisibiliter renascitur. Infans intus est, novus intus est: ubi novellatur, ibi satiatur. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Opera, III. 494. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

The answer. and without faith, and unto condemnation. By what testimony of the scripture can this be proved, that Christ's flesh is eaten unworthily, and unto damnation? Paul saith, *Quicunque manducaverit panem hunc, &c.* "He that eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup of the Lord unworthily." He doth not say, 'He that eateth Christ's body unworthily, or drinketh his blood unworthily,' which always be received to sanctification, to life, and salvation; but, "He that eateth this bread;" that is, not common bread, not daily bread, but sacramental bread, that is meant by the word 'this.' Throughout the scriptures this word 'unworthily' is never joined with Christ's body, never with his blood; for they do sanctify their receivers. St Austin also denieth this distinction, *Sermone circa sacra feria paschæ;* writing thus: *Qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio non manducat ejus carnem nec bibit sanguinem, etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibat*[2]*:* that is to say, 'He that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt he eateth not Christ's flesh nor drinketh not his blood, although he eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing unto his damnation.' This holy father doth teach and confess here three things; which things he teacheth likewise in many other places of his books. One is, that evil men do not eat Christ's flesh, for it is the bread of life and righteousness. Another is, that they do eat the sacrament and the only figure thereof. Thirdly, that they eat the said only sacrament and the only figure unto condemnation, making themselves, as Paul saith, "guilty of Christ's body and blood;" which they do not receive, because they will not believe. These three most true and godly lessons of this elder and learned father be a manifest denial of the transubstantiation, and of all corporal, real, and natural receipt. Let us learn hereof, that there is a difference between Christ's honourable body and blood, and the visible sacrament and figure thereof; such a diversity and difference as is between thy house and thy seal and lease thereof.

1 Cor. xi.

St August. serm. circa sacra feria paschæ.

1 Cor. xi.

St Ambro. de sacram.

St Ambrose also, his master, and the great clerk Pros-

[2] These words are in St Augustine's commentary *In Johan. Evang* cap. VI. Opera, III. 501. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

per, do teach us the very same doctrine. For Ambrose, in his book which he writeth of Sacraments, saith: *Qui discordat a Christo non manducat carnem ejus, &c.* "He that discordeth from Christ, doth not eat his flesh nor drink his blood, although he receive the sacrament of so great a thing unto his damnation and destruction." And Prosper[2], in his Book of Sentences, saith of such unworthy receivers, that though every day indifferently they do receive, that they eat the sacrament and figure of so great a thing unto the condemnation of their presumption, and not Christ's body. Bede also hath the very same words.[3] And the famous and learned father St Hierome doth confirm this to be a true doctrine, writing upon the sixty-sixth chapter of the prophet Esay, saying: *Dum non sunt sancti corpore et spiritu, nec comedunt carnem Jesu nec bibunt sanguinem ejus;* "As long," saith this elder and godly father of Christ's church, "as long as they be not holy and clean in body and in spirit, they do not eat the flesh of Jesu, nor taste of his blood." Of these it is evident that, as the sensible sacrament is received unworthily of ungodly men unto condemnation; so the body of Christ, which is the bread of life, is only received worthily and of good men, always unto salvation, expiation, and righteousness, and of no man unto destruction, death, and damnation, whosoever is partaker of it; as St Austin saith in his sermon of the holy feast of passover. Therefore, if we say that ungodly men do eat Christ's flesh, we deny the doctrine of all the elder fathers; we deny Christ to be the bread of life; we deny him to be our righteousness, our saving health, our expiation, our ransom, our sanctification and holiness; who will not fail to deny us likewise before his Father, unless we renounce this devilish error.

Prosp. lib. senten.

1 Cor. xi.

Beda sup. 1 Cor. xi.

S. Hierom. super Esa. [Opera iii. 506. Edit. Paris. 1699. 1706.]

St Austin. sermo. de sacr. fer. pasc.

Luke xii.

Notwithstanding, both St Austin[4] and other of the

Augustin. Epist. 23.

[2 Escam vitæ accipit, et æternitatis poculum bibit, qui in Christo manet, et cujus Christus habitator est. Nam qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit; etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. Lib. Sentent. No. 339. Opera, 214. Edit. 1539.]

[3 Beda, In Epist. ad Corinth. i. cap. xi. Opera, vi. 383. Edit. Col. Agr. 1612.]

[4 Unus ex vobis, numero, non merito; specie, non virtute; commixtione corporali, non vinculo spirituali; carnis adjunctione, non cordis

fathers do affirm otherwhiles, that Judas and other ungodly persons did eat Christ's body; meaning by 'Christ's body' the sacrament thereof, and giving the name of the thing to the figure and sign. For sacraments be called by the very names of those things which they do represent and signify, and whereof they are sacraments; as both St Austin teacheth in his Epistle which he writeth to Boniface[1], and also the holy martyr and famous clerk St Cyprian[2], in a sermon which he maket [made] *de chrismate*, 'of anointing.' For this cause Christ's flesh hath two significations, both in the scriptures and elder fathers. For as properly, and in his natural and chief acception, [it] is that substance and humanity which was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross for the expiation of our sins; so sometime it is token [taken] also for sacramental bread and wine. In which signification when the elder father [fathers] do affirm ungodly men to eat Christ's flesh, the papists would make us to believe that they teach Christ's flesh, which is the bread of life, to be eaten unworthily unto damnation; not understanding the doctors, and yet great braggers of knowledge and learning; or rather depraving and corrupting the doctors, to maintain their transubstantiation, which is the castle of all superstition and popery; leading us, under the names of fathers and antiquity, from our Father which is in heaven;[3] unto whom, that I may declare the remnant of Christ's supper to your edifying and instruction, which be come together to serve God in prayer and hearing his word, let us make humble supplication, &c.

Cyprian. ser. de chrism.

Christ's flesh hath two significations.

It followeth in the text: "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."

Christ our Master, well-beloved in God, nameth here

socius unitate. . . . . Non erat igitur ex illis Judas; mansisset enim cum illis, si esset ex illis. . . . . Ac per hoc utrumque verum est, et ex nobis, et non ex nobis: . . . . secundum communionem sacramentorum ex nobis, secundum suorum proprietatem criminum non ex nobis. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Opera, III. 666. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

[1 The passage referred to is printed before, p. 36, n. 2.]

[2 The passage referred to is printed before, p. 237, n. 3.]

[3 See p. 50, bottom of the page.]

the sacramental wine "the fruit of the vine;" and that after the consecration. If the nature and substance of wine were disannulled, and turned into Christ's flesh, he would not so name it: for Christ's flesh is the fruit of Mary, the fruit of David and others; not the fruit of the vine. And as the wine is the fruit of the vine, and therefore it is not altered into the substance of Christ's body, which is the fruit of those fathers, from which Matth. i. and Luke iii. do fetch his stock and generation; so undoubtly the sacramental bread is the fruit of wheat after the consecration, and in that it is a sacrament of Christ's honourable flesh. For unto this fruit he himself compareth and likeneth his body, saying, *Nisi granum frumenti, &c.* "Unless the corn which is sown in the ground do first die, it doth not increase. If it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." And the evangelists do testify with one voice, that Christ both took and gave, and also that he brake this fruit to his disciples. What took he? Bread. What gave he to his disciples? The same that he took. And what did he break? Verily, even that which he gave them. Ergo, he gave them not his real body and natural flesh which was born of the blessed virgin; for though he died for us concerning his body, yet the said body was not then broken when he ordained his holy supper.

Luke i. Psal. cxxxii. Acts ii. John xii.

Moreover, Almighty God many years before, in the mystery of the Easter lamb, forbade the breaking thereof, by the mouth of his holy prophet Moses, saying, *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, "Ye shall not break a bone of it:" which words the evangelist St John doth refer to Christ's body. The primitive church followed this example of their high bishop in breaking the sacramental bread, as Paul witnesseth: *Panis quem frangimus, &c.* "Is not the bread which we break," saith Paul, "a communion, or partaking of Christ's body?" And the universal Church throughout all realms and dominions, from the apostles' time, have religiously observed this ceremony. Seeing, then, the sacramental bread, that is, after that it is a sacrament, must be broken to be distributed to such as come to God's table, how is it daily turned into the substance of Christ's honourable body which now is impassible, and in eternal glory? How can it be his real and natural flesh, which was not then broken

Exod. xii. Num. ix. John xix. 1 Cor. x.

when he brake the bread? It was broken afterward, when his hands were nailed to the cross, and when his blood by the cruel Jews was let forth out of his side with a spear, for our redemption; in remembrance of which benefit the sacrament of bread is broken continually, without any alteration, change, or transmutation of his nature. For the apostle St Paul, speaking hereof, doth always name it 'bread,' as in the aforesaid text: "Is not the bread which
1 Cor. x. we break," &c. And again: "We are all one loaf, and one body, inasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread." And, "As often as ye shall eat this bread," &c. And, "Whosoever shall eat of this bread unworthily." And
1 Cor. xi. again: "Let every man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread." Lo, St Paul nameth the one part of this sacrament 'bread,' wheresoever he maketh mention thereof. And Christ our Master, whom we are commanded to hear, nameth the other part 'the fruit of the vine,' by their names teaching us that the matter, the ensence, [essence] and the substance, both of bread and wine, are not transformed, are not transubstantiate into the substance of his flesh and blood; but do remain and continue, as well after the consecration as before, or else they can be no sacraments; as I proved in my second lesson. Notwithstanding, Christ in his supper affirmeth bread and wine to be his body and
John xii. blood, and calleth his body *granum frumenti*, "a wheat corn," and his blood "the fruit of the vine," for those three properties and similitudes which I have declared; and also for another similitude, which now he teacheth us here, that is, because his body and blood are the fruit of Mary, the fruit of David, the fruit of Abraham, and of others; as it
Rom. ix. is written, *Ex quibus Christus est secundum carnem*, "Christ is of the fathers, touching his flesh;" even as the sacramental bread and wine are the fruit of wheat, and the fruit of the vine. For this cause, and such other, he calleth his body *granum frumenti*, "a wheat corn," and affirmeth the signs to be his flesh and blood; not for any mutation of their substances. For this similitude, and such other, do change the names of bread and wine, but not their natures and essence, into Christ's nature. For Christ's na-
Acts ii. ture is the fruit of many patriarchs and divers kings, not
Psal. cxxxii. the fruit of the vine, neither yet the fruit of wheat.

But the papists reply here, that Paul calleth the sacrament bread so many times, and that Christ nameth the wine the fruit of the vine, not of that it is, but of that it was; not that they are still bread and wine after the consecration, but because they were so before. And they defend this their distinction and interpretation with two strong arguments and invincible, as they do think. Their first argument is gathered of the words of Christ immediately following, in that he saith, that "he will drink of this fruit of the vine in the kingdom of his Father with his disciples." "We shall be fed," saith the papist, "in God's kingdom, which is the glory of the life to come, with this fruit of the vine; but we shall not be fed there with the corruptible food and natures of bread and wine: ergo, their natures do not remain and continue; and wine is called the fruit of the vine, and bread *granum frumenti*, 'a wheat corn,' or 'the fruit of wheat,' of that it was, not of that it is." An objection.

I answer: His Father's kingdom, in which Christ saith that he will drink new wine with his disciples in the aforesaid text, is not the glory of the life to come, but that time which followed immediately his resurrection; in which, not for any necessity or hunger, as St Augustin[1] saith (epistle forty-ninth, which he writeth to one Deogratias), but for a trial and probation, that he was verily risen concerning his humanity, he did both eat and drink with his disciples: as Peter witnesseth in his sermon to Cornelius. Then he drank the fruit of the vine anew with them, that is, after a strange and a new sort; having not passible and mortal, The answer. St Austin, Epist. 49. Luke xxiv. Acts x.

[1 Quomodo autem contrarium est, et Christum post resurrectionem cibatum, et in resurrectione quæ promittitur ciborum indigentiam non futuram; cum et angelos legamus ejusdemmodi escas eodemque modo sumpsisse, non ficto et inani phantasmate, sed manifestissima veritate, nec tamen necessitate, sed potestate? Aliter enim absorbet terra aquam sitiens, aliter solis radius candens: illa indigentia, iste potentia. Futuræ ergo resurrectionis corpus imperfectæ felicitatis erit, si cibos sumere non potuerit; imperfectæ felicitatis, si cibis eguerit. . . . . Sciat sane qui has proposuit quæstiones, Christum post resurrectionem cicatrices, non vulnera, demonstrasse dubitantibus, propter quos etiam cibum ac potum sumere voluit, non semel, sed sæpius, ne illud non corpus sed spiritum esse arbitrarentur, et sibi non solide, sed imaginaliter apparere. Augustin. Epist. CII. sive XLIX. Opera, II. 275. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

but impassible and immortal flesh, and such as needed no bodily food. Chrysostom, a learned and godly bishop of Christ's church, doth so understand these words of Christ. For upon Matthew he writeth thus, expounding this very text, *Meminit jam resurrectionis, ac regnum patris eam appellat*[1]; that is, 'Christ remembereth now his resurrection, calling it his Father's kingdom.' Neither is it against reason, or the phrase of the scriptures, to take God's kingdom in this signification; which began chiefly to flourish immediately after Christ's death, as appeareth, and as he himself taught his disciples that it should so do, saying, *Cum exaltatus fuero, omnia traham ad meipsum*, "When I shall be lifted up, I will draw all things to myself." For God doth not reign only in heaven, but also in this life; as it is written, *Regnum Dei intra vos est*, "The kingdom of God is within you." Christ, speaking of drinking new wine in his Father's kingdom, meaneth this reign, whereby God the Father reigned in the hearts of the faithful, after his Son's resurrection, by the grace of his almighty Spirit, with many visible gifts and signs. Therefore it cannot be proved of these words that the natures of bread and wine are disannulled.

Chrysost. in Matt.

Acts ii.

Luke xvii.

Another objection.

Their second reason, wherewith they would prove the sacraments to be named bread and wine, in that they were so before, and not in that they be so still, is framed and made of many like phrases in the scriptures. When the serpent, which was made of Aaron's rod, devoured the serpents which the enchanters of Pharao made of their rods, the text saith, that Aaron's rod did eat up their rods; calling them rods, because they were so before. So the scriptures many times do name man *earth*; forsomuch as he was earth, touching his body, before his creation. They do call wine, water; which was made of water, as we read. After this sort, saith the papists, Christ nameth his blood 'wine,' and 'the fruit of the vine;' and his body 'bread,' and *granum frumenti*, 'a wheat corn,' or 'the fruit of wheat.' Though Aaron's rod were turned into a serpent,

Exod. vii.

Gen. iii. Ecclus. x.

John ii.

The answer.

[1 Καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως πάλιν εἰσάγει λόγον, βασιλείας εἰς μέσον ἀναμνήσας, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὕτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καλέσας. Chrysostom. in Matt. xxvi. Opera, VII. 783. Edit. Paris. 1718—38.]

yet this mutation was no transubstantiation; neither is earth transubstantiate into man, nor water into wine. The scriptures make relation of many wonders and miracles in both testaments; but let them shew any transubstantiation in any of God's miracles from the beginning of the world, and I will be of their opinion. If they cannot, it is against reason that they should abuse God's miracles to prove their transubstantiation, and to maintain their own dreams and inventions. Moreover, the scriptures do manifestly express a mutation in the aforesaid miracles. They testify with plain words, that the rods turned to serpents, that man was formed and made of the earth, and that water was made wine; but they do not testify that bread and wine are turned into Christ's real body and blood; neither do they say that Christ's body and blood was made of them, but rather deny it. For Paul saith, that God sent his son, *factum ex muliere*, 'made of a woman;' teaching us with manifest words, that, touching flesh and blood, he is woman's seed; that is, the fruit of Mary, not the fruit of the vine. Gal. iv.

But because both they and we have scriptures, and it must needs be that one of us doth wrest and deprave them, let us make the elder fathers of Christ's church as it were judges and arbiters, whether the substances of bread and wine remain or not; and which of us do open them with the picklock, and which with the key, that is, which of us do expound them aright. Irenæus[2], bishop of Lyons, who flourished in Christ's church above fourteen hundred years agone, writing against the Valentinians, saith thus touching this matter: *Panis terrenus, accepta vocatione a verbo Dei, non amplius, &c.* 'The terrenal bread, after the consecration, is no longer common bread, but a sacrament, which is made of two things, that is, of a heavenly nature, and of a terrenal nature.' The heavenly nature of which he speaketh is undoubtedly Christ's body and blood, now in glory at the right hand of God the Father. The terrenal nature is that thing which before he named terrenal bread, which he denieth to be any longer bread; but he doth not teach the nature thereof to discontinue, neither once dream of transubstantiation. For these two things be required in Irenæus contra Valen.

[2 The passage alluded to is quoted p. 39, n. 4.]

this mystery, not before the consecration, but afterward, in that it is a sacrament; for they make it a sacrament.

An objection.

But they say, that this terrenal nature is not the substance of bread, but the outward shew of accidents. How do you prove this interpretation to be true? Nay, saith

The answer.

the papist, how can you improve this interpretation? Because it is against the doctrine of those godly and learned fathers which succeeded Irenæus from time to time. For

Tert. li. i. cont. Mar.

Tertullian, not fifty years after Irenæus, in his first book against Marcion, speaking of this mystery, affirmeth plainly and evidently that the substance of bread remaineth; saying, *Deus panem creaturam suam non abjecit*[1], &c.; that is, 'God did not cast away nor disannul bread, his creature, but with it representeth unto [us] his body. Unless we will condemn Tertullian as an heretic in this matter, and set Irenæus and him at discord in the sacrament, which yet no man never laid to their charges, these words do force and compel us to take the terrenal part of this sacrament for the very substance of bread and wine, and not

Origen in Matt. cap. xv.

for their accidents. Moreover, Origen, who in the same age with Tertullian was a famous preacher among the Alexandrians, writing upon St Matthew's Gospel, doth confirm this doctrine, saying, *Panis sanctificatus, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur*[2]; that is to say, 'The sacramental bread touching his matter goeth into the belly, and is cast forth from thence again.' Ergo, the essence and substance thereof is not disannulled.

Cyprian Epist. iii. lib. 2. [Opera. 104. Ed. Paris, 1726.]

Cyprian also was in their times, and taught the same doctrine at Carthage which the famous clerk, Origen, preached at Alexandria. For he, writing to one Cæcilius, affirmeth *sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit vinum calici;* 'that Christ's blood is not offered,' that is, let forth for our redemption, 'if there be no wine in the chalice.' Ergo, such as do teach wine not to remain, but to be disannulled by transubstantiation, by his doctrine do deny that

[1 Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos unguit; nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat; nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus creatoris. Tertullian Advers. Marcion. Lib. i. c. 14. Opera, 372. Edit. Paris. 1664.]

[2 The original of this passage is quoted p. 40, n. 1.]

Christ hath suffered for us. Also in his sermon which he writeth of the Lord's supper[3], shewing how bread and wine are changed into Christ's body and blood, he borroweth a similitude of his incarnation; teaching us, that as Christ now is both God and man, and partaker of two natures; God, in that he saith, "My Father and I are one;" and man, in that he saith, "My Father is greater than I;" that even so there be two natures in the holy sacrament: as Irenæus taught before his time. Idem de cœna Domini.

Thus you see that these four fathers which I have rehearsed taught in divers countries, almost in one time, with one voice and assent, the matter and substances of bread and wine not to discontinue after the consecration, but to remain and abide: which doctrine many years hath been and is yet of some infamed as heretical; but of those which understand neither God's holy word, neither the elder fathers, because the veil of covetousness and of honour, of which Paul speaketh, hangeth before their hearts; even as it did before the hearts of the Jews, which sought in Christ not remission of their sins, but worldly riches and felicity. If these fathers taught a truth, as it cannot be denied, how dare ye say that the sacrament is named bread and wine, not of that it is, but of that it was so before? Where is your distinction and refuge? Where is your transubstantiation? How dare you name this new learning? Be not deceived, good people, with false and ignorant teachers, which open God's word with a picklock, and not with the right key. Submit your judgments to the doctrine of the elder fathers and to the scriptures, which are the key and the touchstone to try good doctrine from evil. 2 Cor. iii.

But for a more manifest probation that this doctrine was taught continually from time to time, almost five hundred years after Christ, I will rehearse unto you the doctrine of some of those fathers which were after Cyprian's time. St Ambrose, bishop of Myllaine, saith thus of bread and wine in this mystery: *Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone domini Jesu*[4], &c.; that is, 'If Christ's word be of so great Ambrose, lib. iv. de sacra. cap. 4.

[3] The passage referred to is quoted p. 38, n. 1.]

[4] Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in

power to cause those things to be which were not, how much more is the same able to continue things, and yet to change them into some other thing!' This holy father, who flourished in virtue and learning three hundred and thirty nine years after Christ, teacheth us here two things: first, that the signs do remain and continue that they were; secondly, that they are changed into another thing; forsomuch as of common bread and wine they are made a sacrament of Christ's honourable body and blood.

Theodoret, Dialog. i.

Also Theodoret, a famous and notable learned man and bishop of Cyrus, who was wrongly infamed of malicious tongues that he was a Nestorian, taught the same doctrine not many years before Ambrose' time. He, in his first dialogue which he writeth against those that denied the verity of Christ's body, teacheth with most evident words the substances of bread and wine to continue, saying: *Symbola appellatione corporis et sanguinis sui honoravit, non equidem naturam ipsam transmutans, sed adjiciens gratiam naturæ.*[1] "Christ," saith this godly father, "gave the honourable names of his body and blood to the signs of bread and wine, not changing their natures, but joining grace with their natures." In his second dialogue also, he saith: *Neque enim post sanctificationem mystica symbola illa natura sua propria egrediuntur, sed manent in priore sua substantia, figura, et specie*[2]; which words be this much to say: "Neither after the consecration do the mystical signs of bread and wine lose their own proper nature, but do continue and remain in their former substance, figure, and shape." This famous bishop taught this doctrine twelve hundred years agone and more; and yet the papists name it new learning.

Dialog. ii.

aliud commutentur! Ambrosius de Sacr. Lib. iv. Opera, ii. 369. Edit. Paris. 1690.]

[1 Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. Theodoret. Dial. i. Opera iv. 18. Edit. Paris. 1642.]

[2 Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι, καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Theodoret. Dial. ii. Opera iv. 85. Edit. Paris. 1642.]

Moreover Chrysostom, who flourished four hundred years and five after Christ, and for his great knowledge and eloquency was made bishop of Constantinople, and is famous at these days throughout the whole world for his virtues and learning, he, in a certain letter which he wrote against the Apollinarists to Cæsarius, a monk, in the time of his second banishment, saith of the sacramental bread in Christ's supper, that after the consecration, *Liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit;* that is to say, "The sacrament after the consecration was no more named 'bread,' but it was called by the name of Christ's body, notwithstanding the nature of bread remained and continued still." What can be more plainly and directly spoken against the transubstantiation?—which was not heard tell of until five hundred years after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chrysost. a Cæsa. mon.

[Opera iii. 744. Edit. Paris, 1718 —38.]

Of these it is evident, that by the judgments of the elder fathers the sacraments be named bread and wine, not of that they were before the consecration, but of that they are still so afterward, as well as before. For they did preach and teach with one voice and assent, in divers regions and countries, and in divers times and ages, a thousand years agone, that bread and wine are a sacrament of Christ's honourable body and blood, without any transubstantiation, that is, transmutation, change, or alteration of their substances and natures. And Christ, our Master, confirmeth this to be a most true doctrine, affirming with an oath, *Amen, dico vobis, &c.*, the wine after the consecration to be the fruit of the vine; not the fruit of Mary, or the fruit of David; and so doth Paul five times, naming the other sensible part of this mystery bread, as Christ before him named it *granum frumenti*, "a wheat corn," or "the fruit of wheat."

Here again they reply, that the fathers do say, that the natures of bread and wine are altered, are turned, and changed into Christ's nature. For St Ambrose, in his book which he writeth, *De iis qui initiantur mysteriis*, cap. 9, speaking of this sacrament, saith: *Benedictione etiam ipsa natura mutatur*[3]; that "after the consecration, the nature

An objection.

St Ambro. Lib. de myst.

[3 Quantis igitur utimur exemplis? Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit; majoremque vim

of bread and wine is changed." And for a probation hereof, he rehearseth many things, whose natures God changed with his word and benediction. He telleth how God changed the nature of Moses' rod, turning it into a serpent; that he changed the nature of water diversely, turning the rivers
Exod. xiv. of Egypt into blood, compassing the Israelites with the
Exod. xv. Red sea as with a wall, causing Jordan to run backward, and making the bitter flood, Marath, sweet and delectable to drink. He changed also the nature of the rock, which poured forth water. Heliseus changed the nature of iron, causing it to swim above the water. Helias changed the nature of fire, when at his prayer it came down from heaven, whose nature is to go upward. These examples, saith the papist, St Ambrose allegeth to prove, that the nature of bread is turned, is changed, and altered: ergo, it doth not remain and continue. Cyprian also, in his sermon of
Cyprian de cœna. Christ's supper, saith: *Panis non effigie sed natura mutatus, &c.*[1] "That this bread is changed, not in shape, but in

esse benedictionis quam naturæ, quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur. Virgam tenebat Moyses, projecit eam, et facta est serpens: rursus prehendit caudam serpentis, et in virgæ naturam revertit. Vides igitur prophetica gratia bis mutatam esse naturam et serpentis et virgæ. Currebant Ægypti flumina puro aquarum meatu; subito de fontium venis sanguis cœpit erumpere, et non erat potus in fluviis. Rursus a prophetæ prece cruor cessavit fluminum, aquarum natura remeavit. Circumclusus undique erat populus Hebræorum, hinc Ægyptiis vallatus, inde mari clausus: virgam levavit Moyses, separavit se aqua, et in murorum specie congelavit, atque inter undas via pedestris apparuit. Jordanis retrorsum conversus, contra naturam in sui fontis revertitur exordium. Nonne claret, naturam vel maritimorum fluctuum vel fluvialis cursus esse mutatam? Sitiebat populus patrum; tetigit Moyses petram, et aqua de petra fluxit. Numquid non præter naturam operata est gratia, ut aquam vomeret petra, quam non habebat natura? Merra fluvius amarissimus erat, ut sitiens populus bibere non posset. Misit Moyses lignum in aquam, et amaritudinem suam aquarum natura deposuit, quam infusa subito gratia temperavit. Sub Elisæo propheta uni ex filiis prophetarum excussum est ferrum de securi, et statim mersum est. Rogavit Elisæum qui amiserat ferrum: misit etiam Elisæus lignum in aquam, et ferrum natavit. Utique et hoc præter naturam factum cognoscimus; gravior est enim ferri species, quam aquarum liquor. Advertimus igitur, majoris esse virtutis gratiam quam naturam, et adhuc tamen propheticæ benedictionis numeramus gratiam? Ambrosii Opera II. 338. Edit. Paris. 1686—1690.]

[1 The whole of the passage referred to is quoted p. 38, n.]

his nature." And Theophylact, writing upon John vi., saith: *Panis quem ego dabo non est figura carnis, sed caro mea est; transelementatur enim panis, &c.*,[2] that is, "The bread which I will give is not a figure of my flesh, but it is my flesh; for the bread is transformed." Theophyl.

I answer: Neither do we deny the natures of bread and wine to be changed and altered, and yet their substances must continue; for this mystery, as Irenæus teacheth us[3], must have an earthly nature after the consecration, as well as before, forsomuch as this sacrament is made of two natures: then how are the natures of bread and wine changed? Verily, even as Ambrose saith,[4] that the nature of water was changed when the Red sea stood about the Israelites like a wall, and gave them passage; as the nature of water was changed when Jordan ran backward, and when the sour river Marath was seasoned and made sweet and delectable; as he saith, that the nature of the rock was changed when it poured forth waters; as he saith, that Heliseus changed the nature of iron, when he made it swim above Jordan; and as Helias changed the nature of fire, causing it to descend downward which naturally ascendeth upward. After this sort the natures of bread and wine are changed and altered in Christ's holy supper; that is, the natural property of them. For before the consecration they do only nourish the body; after the consecration they do feed our souls with Christ's sweet flesh, with his comfortable blood, and with a devout remembrance of his death and passion. The answer. How the fathers say, that the nature of bread is changed. Exod. xiv. Exod. xv. Exod. xvii. 2 Kings vi. 2 Kings i.

In this signification, Ambrose affirmeth the natures of bread and wine to be altered and transformed in Christ's supper; meaning, I say, not their substances and very essence, which is the proper acceptation of the word *nature*, Nature hath two significations. Natural property, essence.

[2 Πρόσχες δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐσθιόμενος οὐκ ἀντίτυπόν ἐστι τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου σαρκὸς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σάρξ. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὅτι ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἀντίτυπόν ἐστι τῆς σαρκός μου, ἀλλ' ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστί. Μεταποιεῖται γὰρ ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλογίας, καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, εἰς σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου. Theophylact. in Evang. Johan. c. vi. Comment. 651. Ed. Paris. 1631.]

[3 The passage referred to is given at p. 39, n. 4.]

[4 Vide p. 275, n. 3.]

but the natural property of them: as appeareth of his own foresaid examples. For the substance and very essence of fire was not altered, though it descended downward against his natural property; neither was the very essence of the Red sea changed, though for a time it stood like a wall about God's people. Jordan was a river still, though he ran backwards; and the stream of Marath was water still, notwithstanding his nature was changed; that is, his natural property, which was sourness, into sweetness. The rock, which poured forth abundance of water, remaineth a rock still. Neither did Heliseus alter and change the very substance and inward essence of iron, when he caused it, being heavy, to hove above the waters. In all these miracles, which were wrought by the mighty power of God, the natures of the Red sea, of Jordan, of Marath, of the rock, of iron, and fire, are said to be changed and altered; that is, their natural properties. The word nature cannot be understand otherwise in the foresaid examples. Besides, approved writers do use it in this acception and signification: as Marcus Tullius, in his book *De somnio Scipionis*, "Of Scipio his dream," *Hæc est animi natura propria, &c.*[1] "This is," saith Tully, "the very nature and office of the soul, to move himself." Notwithstanding Ambrose bringeth two examples, in which the very essence and substances are changed, as the turning of rods into serpents, and the turning of the waters of Egypt into blood; he allegeth these two examples, not to prove the transubstantiation, but to prove and stablish a less mutation in the sacrament by those greater mutations. For neither the rods of Aaron and the enchanters were transubstantiate into serpents, neither were the rivers of Egypt transubstantiate into blood. We do never read, throughout the scriptures, of any such mutation in any of God's miracles from the beginning of the world. Therefore, when Ambrose and Cyprian or any other of the old fathers do say, that the nature of bread and wine is changed, they do not exclude their substances and very essence, which they teach to remain after the consecration, as I have proved before. But they speak

Tullius, de somnio Scipionis.

Exod. vii.

[1 Inaninum est enim omne, quod pulsu agitatur externo: quod autem animal est, id motu cietur interiore et suo: nam hæc est natura propria animi atque vis. Cicero, Somn. Scipion. c. IX.]

of a mutation of the natural properties of bread and wine, whereby they are no longer common bread and wine, but, through God's power and benediction, sanctified and holy sacraments, cheering us with the comfortable promises which God our Father hath made unto us, for the effusion of his Son's blood, and for the death of his body. The elder fathers do acknowledge, confess, and teach no other mutation of the outward signs.

As for Theophylact, he is not of authority to stablish any article; for he reproveth the Latin church for believing the procession of the Holy Spirit, and he was the year after Christ 1058, in the time of Lanfranke and Berengary, when the bishops of Rome took upon them first stoutly to maintain and to publish the doctrine of transubstantiation, which before time was scarcely heard of. Albeit his words touching the sacrament do not disagree with the doctrine of the elder fathers, if they be well construed. When he denieth the bread to be a figure, he speaketh of a vain and bare figure; for so he expoundeth himself upon Mark[2], denying that it is *figura tantum*, "a figure only," which we do confess and grant. But he saith, that the bread is transelemented and transformed. He saith also, writing upon the said chapter of John[3], that we are transformed and transelemented into Christ. And almost all the elder fathers do say the same. And yet our natures remain. We are not transubstantiate; we are not made Christ's real flesh, but undefiled and holy flesh of his flesh, and such as shall arise and be immortal with him; for he doth knit, couple, and incorporate us to himself by his sacraments. Therefore, as this word *transformed* doth prove no mutation of our substance, no

Theophylact.

[2 Τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά μου, τοῦτο ὃ νῦν λαμβάνετε. Οὐ γὰρ ἀντίτυπος τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος· ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο μεταβάλλεται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ ὁ Κύριος γὰρ λέγει· ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστίν. Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀντίτυπος ἐστὶ τῆς σαρκός μου, ἀλλ' ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστί. Theophylact. in Marc. xiv. Comment. 272. Edit. Paris. 1631.]

[3 Ἐνταῦθα μανθάνομεν τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μεταλήψεως· ὁ γὰρ τρώγων καὶ πίνων τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν αὐτῷ μένει τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐν αὐτῷ. Συνανάκρασις γὰρ ξένη καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον γίνεται, ὥστε εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ θεῷ. Theophylact. in Evan. Johan. c. vi. Comment. 653.]

more doth it prove the substance of bread and wine to discontinue.

There remaineth yet one reason, with which they defend their transubstantiation, unto which I think necessary to make an answer; forsomuch as it is commonly in all the mouths both of lay and ecclesiastical persons, which suppose Christ's body to be eaten really and naturally. They say: If we do not eat Christ's flesh really, why doth St Paul make such as receive unworthily guilty of the Lord's body and blood? Why doth he teach such to eat and drink their own damnation, because they make no difference of the Lord's body?

1 Cor. xi.

Unworthy receivers are guilty of the Lord's body.

These words do not prove, that Christ's body is eaten of us really or substantially. For Paul speaketh there of unworthy receivers, which do not eat Christ's body, which is the bread of life, but the only figure and sacrament thereof; and they do eat the said only sacrament and only figure to their judgment and condemnation, as I have proved. This is not my doctrine, but the doctrine of Hierome, Ambrose, of St Austin, of Prosper, and of Bede, as is declared in the beginning of this lesson. The contempt of God's sacrament, not the contract[1] or touching of Christ's real body, which is now in heaven, bringeth damnation and causeth this guiltiness. For as he which violently plucketh down the king's majesty's arms, or breaketh the king's great seal, or clippeth his coin, committeth an offence against the king's own person; so they which abuse the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, presuming to come to it as to common bread, not reconciling them to their brethren, nor sanctifying themselves to God, such presumers and unthankful persons do offend against Christ himself, be guilty of his body and blood, that is, of his death, and do eat their own damnation. To come to God's holy sacrament unreverently, without the wedding garment, without any examination of thy life past, without giving thanks to God the Father for the dishonour and death of his Son, this is *non dijudicare corpus Domini*, "to make no difference of the Lord's body." For Paul nameth here the sacrament "the Lord's body," even as Christ did, when he said of bread and wine, "This is my body and blood." For, as both Cyprian and St Austin and other elder fathers do teach, sacraments have the names of the

To make no difference of the Lord's body, what it is.

[1] Contact?]

very things which they do represent and signify with certain similitudes.

The aforesaid word of the apostle cannot be understand otherwise; for he speaketh of ungodly men, which do not eat Christ's body, but the only figure, to condemnation. He useth a like phrase in the beginning of the said chapter, where he saith, that every man praying or prophesying with a covered head dishonesteth and shameth his head, that is, Christ; referring to Christ an offence done to man's head, because it is a sacrament of Christ. After a like sort, negligent and dumb pastors, which do contemn their flock, and neglect the honourable office of preaching, are pronounced of the prophet Ezechiel guilty of their bloods which do perish for lack of instruction and teaching. That unworthy receivers are guilty of Christ's body and blood through a like contempt and dissoluteness, presumption and negligence, and not through any natural, any corporal or real eating of his flesh, St Ambrose declareth, expounding Paul's aforesaid words, as it followeth: *Dabunt pœnas mortis Domini, quia pro illis occisus est, qui ejus beneficium irritum ducunt;* "They shall be promised [punished] for Christ's death," saith this holy father, "because he was slain for them, and they do set light by his benefit." He doth interpret such to be guilty of the Lord's body, which do not eat his flesh, that is, the food of life, as I have proved before, but the only figure thereof, to the condemnation of their contempt, presumption, and unkindness. Therefore no transubstantiation can be proved of this place; for the defence whereof they do most shamefully wrest and deprave not only the scriptures, but also the elder fathers.

1 Cor. xi.

Ezek. iii.

Ambrose, super Epist. 1 Cor. xi. [Opera Edit. Paris, 1690.]

Christ's cup ought not to be denied to the laity.

And to impress the same deeply into the hearts of all men and women, they have withholden from the laity many years Christ's cup, for fear, as they say, of shedding his blood; of which I will speak a few words in your gentle ears, and then I will conclude and finish this matter. Christ our Master commandeth all men and women to drink of his cup; which commandment the apostles observed as long as they lived, making no promise nor tradition to the contrary. And the universal church followed and observed religiously the said precept for the space of a thousand years after Christ, as many [may] be proved by plain testimony of

Matt. xxvi.

St Ambrose. ancient writers. "For how, with such hands," saith Ambrose unto Theodosius the emperor, "wilt thou take the Lord's holy body? How darest thou drink of the cup of his precious blood[1]?" These words prove, that the temporality in this holy father's time received the sacrament in both kinds; Hierome in cap. 2. Ma. and that, in their hands. St Hierome saith: 'Priests which do consecrate the sacrament, and deliver the blood of Christ Chrysost. 2 ad Corin. cap. ix. to the people[2].' Chrysostom also observed in his time this precept at Constantinople; for he saith: "The priest doth not eat one part, and the laity another part, after the manner of the old law; but unto all is distributed one body and one Gregory. cup[3]." And Gregory, surnamed the Great, after whose time sincere doctrine began to decay, witnesseth that this custom was kept in the Roman church in his days; saying, "You have learned what the blood of the Lamb is, not by hearsay, but by drinking it[4]." Yea, five hundred years after his Gelasius, 1118. death, Gelasius, bishop of Rome, 1118 years after Christ, made a decree for the confirmation of this custom[5], because then some presumed to take under one kind. Neither can it be proved, that the laity were restrained from the cup of

[1 Qui, quæso, manus injusta cæde et sanguine respersas extendere audes, et eisdem sacrosanctum Domini corpus accipere? aut quomodo venerandum ejus sanguinem ori admovebis, qui, furore iræ jubente, tantum sanguinis tam inique fudisti? Theod. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 18.]

[2 Sacerdotes quoque, qui eucharistiæ serviunt et sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt. Hieronymus in Soph. cap. iii. Opera III. 1671. Edit. Paris. 1693—1706.]

[3 Οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τὰ μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἤσθιε, τὰ δὲ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετεῖχεν ὁ ἱερεύς. Ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἓν σῶμα πρόκειται, καὶ ποτήριον ἕν. Chrysostom. Opera x. 670. Edit. Paris. 1834—9.]

[4 Quæ videlicet cuncta magnam nobis ædificationem pariunt, si fuerint mystica interpretatione discussa. Quis namque sit sanguis agni, non jam audiendo, sed bibendo didicistis. Qui sanguis super utrumque postem ponitur, quando non solum ore corporis, sed etiam ore cordis hauritur. Gregorius Magnus, in Evang. Lib. II. Homil. XXII. Opera I. 1533. Edit. Paris. 1705.]

[5 Comperimus autem, quod quidam, sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui proculdubio, quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur obstringi, aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur; quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. Decret. Gratian. De Con. Dist. 2. p. 2088. Edit. Paris. 1612.]

Christ before the reign of Frederick the first, surnamed Barbarossa; to which restraint, notwithstanding, the oriental church would never consent, but use [both] kinds always. Yet the papists would make it a tradition of the apostles: whereas, in very deed, to cause men to have an honourable opinion of private masses and of their transubstantiation, they themselves of late days have taken on them to forbid that which Christ commanded, that which the apostles followed, that which the universal church observed from time to time; as is declared. Frederick Barbarossa, 1160.

And because they would not be counted presumptuous for making this restraint, they cast many perils and dangers, which might follow, if the cup were made common to all men and women. Did not Christ, who foretold many things to his disciples, who is the Wisdom of God the Father, foresee these perils and dangers? If he did foresee them, why did not he make a restraint; or, at the least, command a restraint to be made afterward? Yea, Christ of the bread speaketh not so universally, "Take ye," "Eat ye:" but concerning the cup he giveth a general precept, "Drink ye of this all;" as foreseeing this restraint, and instructing men aforehand not to obey it when it should come. An objection. The answer. Matt. xxvi.

Yet some are so impudent and so drowned in ignorancy, that they dare defend the one kind by Christ's example and the apostles'. They say, that Christ, at the town of Emaus, distributed but bread only to a couple of his disciples. It is not mentioned that such as embraced the fellowship of the apostles received any wine: the text saith, that "they continued in breaking of bread." Therefore, as it is a laudable custom to use both bread and wine, so it is not evil to distribute bread only to the temporality: for both Christ and his apostles did so in the primitive church. I answer, Christ did not consecrate the sacrament to his disciples at the town Emaus, but by his mighty power wrought a miracle in the division of the bread: so Nicholaus Lyranus, writing upon the said text, doth understand it, witnessing that Christ brake the bread so even, as if he had cut it asunder with his knife.[6] Now, though Another objection. Luke xxiv. Acts ii. The answer. Nicholaus Lyranus.

[6 Sic enim frangebat panem ac si scinderetur cum cultello. Nic. Lyranus, in Luc. xxiv. 30. Biblia Max. xiv. 295. Edit. Paris. 1660.]

bread only be named, yet this is no sufficient proof that they did receive the sacrament but in one kind. For under the name of bread the scriptures do contain meat and drink, and all manner of victuals; as in the Lord's
Matt. vi. prayer, when we say, "Give us this day our daily bread," we ask all necessary food for the nourishment of the body. Again, we read that Christ went into the house of one of
Luke xiv. the chief pharisees, *manducare panem sabbato*, "to eat bread on the sabbath day;" that is, 'to dine, or sup, with
Isai. lviii. him;' as all writers take it. The prophet Esay saith to every one of us, *Frange esurienti panem tuum*, "break thy bread to the hungry;" exhorting us by an Hebrue phrase, under the name of bread, to minister all bodily food, all necessary sustenance to the poor. Some make another
Erasmus. Acts ii. answer to the aforesaid place of Luke. Erasmus, in his annotations, doubteth whether the bread which Luke saith was broken among the Christians of the primitive church, were common bread or sacramental and sanctified[1]. And many other are likewise in doubt hereof. Wherefore no certain doctrine can be stablished of the aforesaid place. Yea, though Luke, both chap. xxiv. and Acts ii., do speak of the sacrament, yet, forsomuch as all victuals are comprehended under the word bread, who is able to say that they sanctified no wine?

It followeth in the text, that Christ and his disciples, "when they had given praises," or, as some do read, "had
What God requireth of us after our receipt. sung an hymn, they went out into mount Olivet." We are taught here, by the ensample of Christ and his apostles, two offices which God requireth of us after the receipt of the sacrament. First, in that they gave thanks and praises, let us learn, that it is the office of every christian man, before he depart from God's table, and also all his lifetime, to render hearty thanks to God the Father for his great clemency and mercy, for the remission of his sins through the dishonour and death of his honourable Son. To this end and purpose this mystery was chiefly and principally ordained, that so noble and worthy a benefit should not fall out of remembrance, forsomuch as it is our only comfort against damnation and eternal death. Therefore many of

[1] Incertum an hic loquatur de pane consecrato, quum nulla fiat mentio calicis. Erasmus, in Act. ii. 46. Nov. Test. Edit. Basil. 1535.]

the elder fathers of Christ's church do name this sacrament εὐχαριστία, that is, a thanksgiving. Follow the ensample of Christ, thy high Shepherd, and of his apostles, which finished not this mystery without thanks to the Divine Majesty. They continued also "in giving of thanks and breaking of bread," as Luke registereth, writing their lives after Christ's ascension and departure. What words they used, it is unknown; and also, whether they sang an hymn, or only said it. The Greek word is indifferent either to singing or saying. But though God do not here esteem the voice, but the heart; yet both song and instruments be laudable and approved ceremonies in God's church, as I would prove, but only because I will not be over-long. Acts ii.

If we will not honour God with due thanks for his innumerable benefits procured unto us through Christ, but become unthankful and unkind; if, after that we be delivered from sin and received into God's favour, we turn from his holy commandment; then is our latter end worse than the beginning. For of such St Paul saith, "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy." Behold examples hereof in the new testament. Judas, after that he had been long in the blessed fellowship of the apostles, for betraying the guiltless for a bribe and through the detestable vice of covetousness, hung himself and utterly lost the favour of God. Ananias and Saphira his wife, for practising the said detestable vice of covetousness, after breaking of bread in the primitive church, were stroken with sudden death. Many among the Corinthians were stroken with divers diseases, and some with sudden death, for like offences, as Paul witnesseth. For nothing displeaseth the Divine Majesty more, nothing so kindleth his fury and indignation, as relapse into sin after that thou hast been at his Son's holy table. For "thou treadest under thy foot his honourable Son, thou crucifiest him again, thou countest the blood of the new testament which sanctified thee an unholy thing, and dost dishonour the Spirit of grace." Relapse into sin is dangerous. 2 Pet. ii. 1 Cor. iii. Matt. xxvii. Acts i. Acts v. 1 Cor. xi. Heb. x. Heb. vi.

The second office which we are taught here, is thenceforth to pass our life-time in prayer and in seeking after heavenly things. For Christ and his apostles, from giving of thanks, go straightways to mount Olivet, which place,

John xviii. Luke xxii. as John the evangelist saith, Judas who betrayed him knew very well; "for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples to pray." If he had gone to an unknown place, seeing his time was at hand, many would have thought that he had suffered death for our redemption against his will. To avoid this suspicion, and to teach us that he died of his own voluntary will and goodness without compulsion, Eph. i. *et secundum propositum*, &c., that is, "according to the purpose of his Father," to the praise of the glory of his grace, he resorted to his accustomed place, which his betrayer knew. Luke xxii. Also he resorted thither, as Luke writeth, to pray; not that he had need of prayer, which is a remedy against sin, but to stir us thereunto by his ensample. For seeing he prayed often and so diligently, who needed not, being without all spot of sin, either original or actual, how needful a thing is the same for us which be sinners! As the life of fishes lieth in the water, and out of water they lose their lives, so I say unto you, the soul of man and woman dieth without prayer; neither can we eschew evil, or exercise virtue, without continual and earnest invocation of God's daily help. Let us learn therefore of Christ, who prayed not for himself, but for our example, to resort after the communion, not to the tavern or ale-house, not to a bowling alley nor to a dicing-house, as many do daily, but to go into mount Olivet, that is, to a place of prayer, as he did; always thenceforth looking upward towards heavenly things, that he may increase in us all spiritual gifts to the glory of his name. For as fathers in earth will not let their children know their privacies, their secret treasures and riches, nor make them partakers of their commodities and lands, as long as they follow the wild swing of their youth and delight in vanities, no more will God the Father to the lovers of worldly vanities deal his spiritual graces, nor discover the glorious riches of his kingdom. We must despise worldly things and become eagles; that is, we must fly up into mount Olivet, we must lift our minds up into heaven, where Christ's body is at his Father's right Matt. xxiv. hand. For it is written, *Ubi cadaver, ibi aquilæ*, "Where the carcase is, thither the eagles resort." Christ our Master nameth his own body a carcase because of his death and

passion; for unless it had died, we had not arisen. And he calleth us eagles, teaching us that we must not creep on the ground, we must not tarry in earth, but we must elevate, not bread and wine, but our hearts, our thoughts, our cogitations and spirits, to the throne of God's majesty; where Christ's body, which was a carcase, is now in eternal glory: to whom, with the Father and the eternal Spirit, be all honour and glory, praise and thanks. So be it.

THE PRAYER.

O heavenly Father, who dost nourish godly men with the food of thy Son's flesh and the drink of his blood; which his flesh and blood is the fruit of many, the fruit of David and others, not the fruit of the vine nor the fruit of wheat: hear our prayers and supplications, and so till our hearts with the seed of thy holy word, that we may be of their fellowship which are fed with thy Son's body, the food of life; and not of the number of the ungodly, which do eat the only figure and sacrament thereof to the condemnation of their presumption, contempt, and unthankfulness. Stablish the hearts of thy people with the knowledge of the scriptures, and with the doctrine of the elder fathers of thy holy church, against such as ignorantly and falsely teach that thy Son's flesh, which is the bread of life and righteousness, is received unworthily and unto condemnation of ungodly men. Confirm and instruct them with thy Son's commandment, with the ensample and use of the primitive and oriental church, against the pestiferous doctrine of those which, to maintain superstition, deny the cup of thy new testament to the temporal and laity. Grant these our requests, O most merciful God, that we, having a right opinion of thy sacrament, may use it aright, may

come thereunto worthily, and after this life praise thee continually in mount Olivet, that is, in the eternal glory, for the remission of our sins, and for all thy benefits bestowed upon us, for the dignity and worthiness of Christ, who, with thee and the Holy Spirit, liveth and reigneth, one God, world without end.

Amen.

TWO SERMONS

OF

OPPRESSION, AFFLICTION, AND PATIENCE,

PREACHED BY

ROGER HUTCHYNSON.

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM MS. BIBL. REG. 17 B. XII.
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CONTENTS.

A SERMON upon the second epistle after Easter, 1 Peter ii., declaring the misery of this life; that there be two kinds of affliction and patience; and exhorting men to arm themselves with patience against oppression and grievous chances; teaching also the miserable state and condition of oppressors; that it is better to suffer than to do wrong; why God suffereth evil men to oppress and scourge the virtuous and godly; that every man's reward in the life to come shall not be equal; that adversity and trouble are much better than prosperity.

Another sermon upon the rest of the epistle, exhorting to patience by Christ's ensample; shewing that his image teacheth us all virtues; why God ordained man to live in labours; what doth cause such as be in adversity to blaspheme God, and to live ungodly; a difference between christian and the heathen man's patience; whether christian men may go to law and sue one another; how the plaintiff and the defendant ought to be affected each to other; how Christ hath delivered us from the law; that we must bear the taunts, the threats, slanders, and sins of others, as Christ bare ours; and what evils come of anger, impatience, and envy.

To the right worshipful Sir Harry Sydney, knight, and gentleman of the king's majesty's privy-chamber[1], Roger Hutchynson wisheth the favour of God, long life, continual health, and welfare.

Though the scriptures were never so universally read of all men and women in this island, (for which thanks be given unto God!) yet your worshipful mastership knoweth that they be full of secret and hidden mysteries, full of profound doctrine and hard and dark matters. Men of learning and knowledge do behold in them the glorious riches of God's wisdom and majesty. To the unlearned and laity, the publishing of them without interpretation is a like matter as if a man would give to young children whole nuts, which, when they have tumbled long up and down in their mouths, and licked the hard shell, being not able to come to their sweetness, at last they spit out, and cast away both the shell and the kernel. The eternal God, to help the infirmity of man's capacity and understanding herein, hath ordained two honourable and most necessary offices in his church; the office of preaching, and the office of reading or interpreting. We are taught how necessary these two functions be in every christian commonwealth, Acts x.; where it is written, that although an angel was

[1 Sir Henry Sydney was the son of Sir William Sydney, chamberlain and steward to prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI., during the lifetime of his father. Being only a few years older than the young prince, Henry Sydney was his companion from infancy, and many times his bed-fellow. After Edward's accession to the throne, his early friend was appointed to several offices which kept him in attendance upon the person of the sovereign, and it was in his arms that the young monarch died. The lady alluded to in this dedication was Mary, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, the governor of the kingdom after the deposition of the protector Somerset. The celebrated Sir Philip Sydney was one of the children of Sir Henry and Lady Mary Sydney. Vide Collins's Sydney Papers, i. 82—97.]

sent unto Cornelius, captain of the Italian band, yet he would not take upon him to preach the gospel to the aforesaid captain and his household, but commanded him to send to Joppa for Peter, who was authorised to this office, and to hear him. To teach us the necessity of these offices, the angel of the Macedonians did not himself preach Christ's death and resurrection to the Macedonians, but called Paul, and said to him, "Come into Macedony and help us;" as is registered Acts xvi. Because of this difficulty and hardness of holy writ, through which every man cannot wade without a teacher, and because this short epistle of Peter is full of heavenly consolation and comfort for all afflicted and troubled persons, and of profound doctrine, I have laboured to comprehend the most fruitful matter thereof in two sermons, which I do present and dedicate to your worshipful mastership, that all such as shall find any manner of comfort or knowledge in them, should recount themselves bounden to you for the same; and also, for a testimony and declaration of my benevolence and loving heart towards your worshipful mastership, and my lady, your most faithful and loving wife. I grant that I have not uttered this most wholesome argument in such an eloquent and flourishing style as the worthiness thereof deserved; yet I trust that your mastership will accept these my sermons thankfully, both for the worthiness of the matter, which is holy, and of the author, which is St Peter. Though my style be rude and homely, yet Christ, who is taught here, is glorious. Though the letter be not fervent and earnest, yet the holy Spirit, which breatheth in the letter, is vehement, strong, and mighty; who preserve your mastership, and my lady, with all yours, in health, long life, and prosperous felicity.

From Eaton college, the xvii day of August, 1552.

THE FIRST SERMON

OF OPPRESSION, AFFLICTION, AND PATIENCE.

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1 PET. ii.

This is thankworthy, if a man for conscience sake endure grief and suffer wrong undeserved; but if, when for your faults ye be buffeted, then ye take it patiently, what praise are ye worthy? If you do well, and be troubled, that is worthy praise: hereunto verily are ye called; for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps: who did no sin, neither was any guile found in his mouth; when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed vengeance to him that judgeth righteously: who bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being delivered from sin, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes we are healed. For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

THAT I may declare this epistle to God's honour, and find out such lessons as may edify and instruct this audience, I pray you all help me with your devout prayers. In which let us make supplication to God for the universal company of his church, namely for the church of England and Ireland; desiring him, of his fatherly goodness, to continue both us and them in the confession and obedience of his gospel and truth; also, for the king's excellent majesty, &c.

I have rehearsed unto you, well-beloved in the Lord, the epistle of this day, wherein patience is praised and commended unto us as a special jewel, treasure, and gift of the eternal God. There is no kind of vocation, no degree, neither spiritual nor temporal, no estate and condition of life, which can lack this excellent virtue. For as it is sometime day, sometime night, otherwhiles cold and frosty winter, otherwhiles pleasant and lusty summer, and otherwhiles spring-tide; so the life of man and woman is mingled of sweet and sour things. It hath commodities and pleasures, and it hath griefs and displeasures. There be things

Patience is necessary for all sorts of people.

that delight and refresh us, and there be as many which molest, sting, and vex us. For who is there living, either temporal or spiritual, which can truly report that he hath had continual health and welfare, continual prosperity without any storm of adversity? Wherefore patience, unto which we are here exhorted of the apostle St Peter, is necessary unto all sorts of men; as shall appear more plainly hereafter.

Rich men. First, I will begin with those that are thought to live in most pleasures. Rich men seem to have pleasant and merry lives. Nothing is too dear to them: they seem to have the world at will. But if we consider and weigh things aright, we shall find that they are overwhelmed with many sorrows and cares, not only to gather and scrape substance together, but also in keeping and reserving it safe. On the night, when other men take their rest, then is the rich man without rest, in most trouble and fear, trembling for thieves; insomuch that the wise man saith, *Cura divitiarum amovet somnum*, "Riches do drive away sleep." If death come and visit him, when repentance is most necessary, and the consideration of his sins, and the consideration of God's mercy, then his riches, which he gathered and kept with all diligence, do oftentimes cause his damnation, and help him to the devil. They will not let him think of heaven, of the life to come, of the sweet and comfortable promises that the eternal God hath made us in our Lord Christ. It is more grievous to a rich man than a hundred deaths, to depart with his treasure, to want his dainty fare, his gorgeous apparel, his sweet gardens, his pleasant galleries, his commodious and sumptuous buildings, and other commodities. If he have children, then, though he have heaps of gold, though he be able to maintain a great army of his rents, revenues, and goods, yet he counteth himself to be poor again. Again, if he[1] have no children, it grieveth him intolerably to have no heirs of his substance and goods. And oftentimes it chanceth that the rich man leaveth all his lands, goods, and commodities to his enemy and accuser, and his own substance putteth her master to death, according to the saying of Psal. xxxix. the prophet, *Thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea*, "The rich man scrapeth, gathereth, and hordeth up treasure, he

[1 *Ye*, in MS.]

cannot tell for whom." I report me to many rich men of late days, whether I say true or not. Is this a happy and a pleasant life? Why dost thou grudge and repine against rich men? Why dost thou envy, swell, and murmur against them? They are rather to be pitied than to be grudged at; rather to be lamented, than envied. Christ telleth us that they have hard access into heaven; and the apostle telleth us, that "those which desire to be enriched, be snared with many tentations." Why do we grudge that they have plenty of thorns which molest, and prick, and lead them to eternal death? Matt. xix. Mark x. 1 Tim. vi. Luke viii. Mark x.

Hear what the notable rich man saith in the gospel to Abraham: he crieth out, "Father Abraham, send Lazarus hither, to dip his finger in the water and to touch my tongue; for I am roasted in this flame." Thou miserable man! if riches make men happy and fortunate, how camest thou hither? Thou haddest store of money, corn, and cattle; thy table was served with wine every day; and dost thou now desire a drop of water? Diddest thou not, in thy royalty, despise poor Lazarus? Now thou desirest his help and presence. He lay naked at thy gate; now he hath made his bed in Abraham's bosom. Thou diddest dwell in a goodly and fair palace; now thou dwellest in hell, because thou wouldest not be God's amner in thy lifetime. Remember this narration, you rich men; trust not in uncertain riches; learn that no rich man is owner of his goods and lands, but God's amner and officer to distribute and deal the Lord's goods to the poor, to the lame, to the blind, to the fatherless and motherless; and to help, with their substance and credit, all that be oppressed and wronged unto their right. For he saith by the prophet, "Gold is mine, silver is mine;" and the psalmograph saith, "The earth is the Lord's, and all that is contained in it." And you that be in poverty, comfort yourselves with the ensample of Lazarus, with the ensample of God's prophets and apostles, (for they all were poor men,) and namely with the blessed example of Jesus Christ our righteousness, who became so poor to make us rich, that he had not *ubi reclinaret caput*, "a house to cover his head withal." Luke xvi. 1 Tim. vi. All rich men be God's amners. Hag. ii. Psal. xxiv. Luke ix.

But kings have sweet and pleasant lives. Consider how many dangers, how many cares, what expences and charges, what provision, and the innumerable troubles that belong Kings.

unto a kingdom; and thou shalt find that many private men, many husbandmen, many artificers and merchants, do live more merrily and [1][in more ease than they do. Look not on their flourishing and golden crowns. Look not upon their gorgeous apparel, upon their delicate fare, upon their large and fair palaces. Look upon their weighty affairs, upon the multitude of their cares, upon the manifold thoughts and business, both in peace and in battle. Do they not intend many matters, and are disappointed of their purposes, either through fear of their own subjects, or of their lords, or by the power of their enemies? Are they not wounded with the darts and chances of this life, which the heathen name *tela fortunæ*, "the dints or strokes of fortune," as well as other? Sometime with sickness, sometime with lack of issue and children, sometimes with uproars and insurrections, sometime with privy treasons and conspiracies: otherwhiles death taketh their wives, their children, their faithful and trusty friends from them, and filleth their hearts with sorrows and heaviness. As it is not possible to find an immortal man that shall live always in body, so is it impossible to find any kind of life without heaviness, without displeasures and smarts. For if rich men and kings do smart, what is to be thought of other inferior vocations?

Chrysostom. [2]There be many causes of sorrows and heaviness, but far different and diverse, and every man thinketh his own sore greatest; for every man knoweth and feeleth his own best. And as they that be diseased in body count no pain to be like theirs, he that hath sore eyes thinketh no grief to that, he that hath the tooth-ache complaineth that his smart is greatest; so is it in the heaviness and sorrows of the mind; every one thinks his sore, his smart, and grief to be greatest. He that lacks children, judgeth nothing more grievous than to be without issue. He that is poor and needy, and hath many sons or daughters, complaineth of great costs and charges and of the dearness of the world, and wishoth he had fewer. Some have but one son, or one daughter, and they complain also that it maketh them proud,] unthrifty,

[1] This passage within brackets has been accidentally transposed in binding the MS., of which it now forms fol. 18 instead of fol. 8. It is here restored to its proper place.]

[2] This paragraph is almost wholly translated from Chrysostom; the original is too long to quote, but may be found, Opera v. 367—8. Edit. Paris. 1588.]

negligent, and not to care for correction. He that hath married a fair wife recounteth himself unfortunate that he took such one, and is tormented with suspicion and jealousy. Again, he that hath married a foul woman, taketh it for a great plague to be bound to company with such one. The husbandman counteth his life but vile and miserable. The soldier repines at his pains and infinite jeopardies, saying, that he had rather live with bread and water than in daily danger of death. Magistrates and officers be weary of providing and caring for the necessities of others. Subjects count nothing more miserable than to be bound to obey and serve their superiors. Bachelors desire to have wives and houses of their own to refresh themselves in; and many that be married, considering what cares, expences, and charges be joined with matrimony, desire to be unwived again. Of these it appeareth to you all, that this life is full of misery, of griefs, of smarts, of trouble, of heaviness; and that patience is most necessary both unto rich and poor, unto kings and magistrates, unto husbandmen, merchantmen, soldiers, married and unmarried, unto all subjects and sorts of people. We be all God's martyrs, we do all bear a cross in this life, and therefore every one support and comfort his brethren.

Two kinds of affliction and patience.

But you shall note that there be two kinds of patience and affliction, according as the men be affected which be in trouble. Some be in trouble for their virtue, honesty, and truth; and other some are troubled for their vice, dishonesty, falsehood, misbehaviour, and untruth. There is affliction of sinners, of oppressors, of unrighteous men; and there is affliction of saints, of God's martyrs, of prophets, and of righteous men; and both kinds be here touched, and taught us of St Peter: one, in that he saith, "This is thank-worthy, if a man endure grief for conscience sake, and suffer wrong undeserved;" here is affliction and patience of saints and good men: and the other is taught us where he saith, "What praise are ye worthy, if when for your faults ye be buffeted, and then take it patiently?" He asketh a question, meaning that such are worthy of no reward, no recompence, no benefit at God's hand; and this is affliction and patience of sinners. Both kinds of patience are to be exercised of all christian men and women. The first is the

better, and more acceptable in God's sight, and more highly commended in the scriptures. "It is thank-worthy," saith Peter; that is to say, God hath promised unto such as endure grief for his name remission of their sins, his favour and continual help, the graces and gifts of the holy Spirit, and eternal joys and rest; as it is written, *Si compatimur, et conregnabimus*, "If we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with him." And our saving health and righteousness, Christ himself, saith of such: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness; for the kingdom of heaven is theirs." This kind of affliction is a special gift of the eternal God, as Paul witnesseth unto the Philippians; *Vobis donatum est, non solum ut in Christum credatis, verum etiam ut pro illo patiamini;* "It is given unto you," saith Paul, "not only to believe upon Christ, but also to suffer for him:" which place instructeth us, that to believe in Christ, which is faith, and to suffer for conscience sake, be two gifts of God. Happy and blessed are those on whom the eternal God bestoweth this gift. For as the warrior, when he mustereth, chooseth tall and able men, and refuseth cowards; so God doth not vouchsafe all men of this honour, to suffer and fight for his name, but those which he ordained to be heirs of everlasting life and partakers of all heavenly promises through Christ. His apostles, considering this honour, Acts v., when they had been imprisoned, scourged and whipt for preaching of the gospel, they were joyful and glad thereof, and danced for joy that they were counted worthy to endure grief for the name of Christ. They rejoiced, and felt no smart. The strokes of their fetters were not painful to them. For he that is afflicted in God's cause, and giveth thanks, and praiseth him for his gift, as they did, his pain thereby is minished, lessened, or rather utterly taken away; so that he feeleth no manner of smart. Nabuchodonosor commanded Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, to be cast into a hot burning oven, because they refused to worship a golden image which he had erected, with the rest of his subjects and commons. But they in the fire remembering their God, and singing thanks unto him, were saved harmless. The fire was to them instead of a wall, and the oven was unto them a pleasant bath. They were cast into the oven bound hand

Patience and affliction of saints.

Rom. viii.

Matt. v.

Phil. i.

The Apostles. Acts v.

He that giveth thanks feeleth not affliction.

Ananias, Azarias, Mishael, Dan. iii.

and foot; and the oven delivered them out loosed and unbound. Their bodies were mortal and corruptible; and the fire abstained from them, as if they had been immortal and impassible. Nabuchodonosor bound their feet, and their feet bound the fire. O wonderful work! the fire loosed and burned in sunder their bonds, and touched not nor burned not their bodies. The cruel tyrant would have destroyed them; but the fire, because they gave thanks, spared them against his nature. Was not the like done in Daniel, when he was thrown to lions and preserved harmless? In the new testament, St Paul, when he at Miletus took up an adder in a bundle of sticks, he handled it, and was nothing hurt therewith. Dan. vi. Paul, Acts xxviii.

There be two sorts of men, which endure undeserved grief for conscience sake and for the name of Christ. First, all such as have sealed and ratified Christ's testament, and the doctrine there contained, with the oblation of their bodies, with their blood and deaths; as those that I have rehearsed, the holy prophets and apostles, and many martyrs, both in the primitive church, and now of late days. Again, they endure grief for conscience sake which are put from their livings wrongfully, for speaking the words of God, and rebuking oppressors and extortioners sharply and boldly; which are thrown into prison, and put from their lands, from their rooms and offices, from their bishopricks, from their benefices, or from whatsoever it be, for controlling all covetousness, disorders, and enormities; and they also which are oppressed, and kept under, and bare, and needy, of mighty and rich men, as God knoweth every township through England almost is oppressed; and some have deserved no less, and some again be wraxed with undeserved misery. The rich and wealthy waste and eat up the commons of every town, so that no poor man can keep a cow upon them. They use unhonest trades in their husbandry, buying and selling corn and cattle to forestal markets; and to make an appearance of scarcity in the markets, they will overbuy things and give more for them than they be worth, to raise the price. In selling their wares, they deceive men, and cannot be content with moderate gains; and oppress their poor brethren through covetousness. All good and virtuous men that are oppressed by such, endure grief, and Two sorts of men endure grief for conscience sake.

suffer wrong for conscience sake and for the name of Christ, if they take it patiently, quietly, and thankfully. The world judgeth such to be miserable and outcasts, to be peasants and dregs. But I say unto thee, whatsoever thou art that are overwhelmed with might and favour, bear it for God's sake patiently; have no malice against thy oppressors; but as our Master Christ commandeth thee, and gave thee example, pray for them, love them, wish their amendment; and thou art God's martyr, as well as Daniel and Paul, as well as Stephen, and the infants which king Herod murdered for Christ's sake. Ah, good Lord! that we would take it so, that we would be content to be God's martyrs. The Lord help our infirmities, and strengthen our weakness against tentations with his grace and Spirit!

He suffereth yet these cursed worldlings, these damned spirits, to oppress, to suck, to devour, and to wring you, as he did Pharao, that you, through patience and sufferance, may obtain everlasting life, and be fellow-heirs with Christ, and made like unto him; and that they, for their oppression and extremity, may be punished more grievously, more bitterly, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the death of the soul. Let your oppression and adversity be a token and a certificate to your conscience that you are the children of God, and heirs of eternal salvation through Christ our Lord. For "except we suffer," saith Paul, meaning this undeserved misery, "we are bastards, not sons." If we will reign with Christ, we must suffer with him; if we will go to heaven with him, we must first go to hell with him. Thou art put from thy house and lands, as Naboth was; thou art bereaved of thy moveable goods; thy father's legacies are denied thee; thou art in prison for preaching boldly against sin and iniquity, for taunting and rebuking those that worship Nabuchodonosor's golden image, I mean the idol of covetousness: bewail not thy misfortune, thy misery, and thy wrong and trouble, but rather lament and bewail thy oppressor; for it is better to be oppressed than to oppress; it is better to suffer than to do wrong; it is better to endure all grief for conscience sake, than to grieve the sons of God, as appeareth by many examples in holy scripture. David suffered many injuries and displeasures at the hands

It is better to be oppressed, than to oppress.

of king Saul; and which of them, think you, was in better case? Saul promised him, if he could overthrow the champion of the Philistines, Goliath, that he would give him his daughter to wife. He overcame him, and delivered the Israelites from great terror; but Saul broke promise, and did him injury and wrong, and swelled with envy and hatred against David, insomuch that an evil spirit possessed and vexed him. David, on the other side, was praised and commended of all the people. Tell me now, whether of them was in better case, he that was praised of all men, or he that was possessed with a devil? He that won the battle, and delivered the people of God, or he that almost did brast for malice and anger? Jacob likewise endured grief and suffered wrong at the hands of his uncle Laban, and yet, (a wonderful matter,) he was stronger than his oppressor; for Laban pursued him, and overtook him in Mount Galard; but he was not so hardy as once to touch or harm him, as is written, Gen. xxxi., but rather feared him, and returned home again.

David, Saul. 1 Sam. xvii. Jacob. Laban.

That this may appear yet more evidently unto you that be oppressors of the commons, to you that care not what, nor from what use you catch, and snatch, and alter things to your own commodities, and to the obscuring of God's glory, which your duties be to set forth, consider with me David once again, and with him Urias, Bethsabee's husband. David, when he was oppressed of Saul, waxed daily more famous, mighty, and stronger: after that he oppressed Urias, and began to do injury, he was humbled, made weak and low. Urias, being slain, was mighty and strong: he raised Absolon against David, chased him, made him to fly into the desert, wasted and spoiled Jerusalem, and almost deposed his oppressor from his royalty. The oppressor, being a king, could do nothing: he that was oppressed, being but a soldier, wasted all topsy-turvy. The like was done in Abel and Cain, in Job and the devil. Learn therefore, you oppressors, you pollers and pillers, that it is better to be oppressed than to oppress; it is better to be pilled than to pill. Is it not better to be Abel than Cain? Is it not better to be David than Saul? Jacob than Laban? Urias than David? Job than the devil? Εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες, that is, "If ye do well," saith Peter, "and

David. Urias. 2 Sam. xi. Abel, Cain, Job, Satan.

endure grief, that is worthy thank, and reward, and eternal recompence hereafter:" but to be an oppressor and caterpiller deserveth and bringeth eternal death and damnation.

Here a question may be demanded, no less necessary to learn than hard to dissolve and discuss: Why doth God suffer his saints to be afflicted, oppressed, and to endure grief in this world? Why was Abel slain of Cain? Urias of David? Why did God suffer wicked Manasses to murder and saw in sunder the holy prophet Esay? Why doth he suffer Antichrist of Rome to slay so many of his servants, both in this realm and other regions, for justification of faith, for the holy sacrament, for Englishing the scriptures, for reformation of baptism and God's service, and other causes?

Why God suffereth good men to be oppressed.

The elder fathers and holy scriptures rehearse two causes of this God's sufferance. The first cause is for the avoidance of idolatry. If all things should chance prosperously to holy men, the world would be fond of them, and make them gods, as appeareth by the ensamples of Paul and Barnabas. They coming to Lystra in Lycaonia, healed there a certain lame man which had been lame from his mother's womb. The foolish people seeing what was done, cried in their language, "Gods are comen amongst us in the likeness of men." They would have honoured them with sacrifice; and supposed Barnabas to be Jupiter, and Paul they took for Mercury. Such is the nature and blindness of man. So all the heathen were wrapped in idolatry, and worshipped mortal men that were their benefactors, and with divine honour, for the eternal and immortal God. How was Hercules made a god of the Greeks, Romulus of the Romans, and Alexander, surnamed the Great, of the Macedonians, but because they had them into great reverence and estimation? Therefore Almighty God, to eschew and to avoid this inconvenience, letteth his saints be afflicted; suffered his prophets and apostles, after they had wrought wonderful miracles, to be tossed with continual troubles, to be imprisoned, to be banished, to be diseased and tormented with sickness, lest men for their miracles and unspotted lives should suppose them to be gods, as the Lycaonians did Paul and Barnabas, and the gentiles their benefactors. For the same cause

Avoidance of idolatry is one cause.

Paul, Barnabas, Acts xiv.

The apostles.

their bodies and ours be mortal and corruptible; as we may learn by St Paul's words and ensample, 2 Cor. xii. "If I list," saith Paul, "to glory, I may do it honestly; but I forbear, lest men should think more of me than they ought to do." And again, "We have this treasure," the Spirit and knowledge of God, "in brittle vessels;" that is, in earthly and gross bodies. And why so? that the glory of their doings, of their miracles, and of their undefiled conversations, (as Chrysostom[1] writeth in his homily) should be referred and redound to God's honour, and not to theirs. For when thou readest that the prophets and apostles raised those that were dead, restored the blind to their sight, the lame to their feet, the deaf to their hearing, and the sick to their health, and yet when they were sick, that they could not heal themselves, art thou not compelled to confess these things to be God's workmanship, not theirs?

2 Cor. xii.

Chrysostom, de patientia.

God useth the like policy in all his creatures. He made the world large, wide, and beautiful, and therefore the Greeks call it κόσμος; but he made it also corruptible and mortal, to confound the blind Stoics which worship it for God: likewise he made the sun glorious, radiant, and bright; he made it also to decay and flourish again, to go down and to arise, with other corruptible properties, to control the Persians and Medes that honour it with divine reverence. So I say, that men should not abuse his saints and his apostles, he punisheth some with imprisonment, some with continual diseases, some with oppression, some with poverty; some have been thrown into the Fleet,

The Stoics.

The Medes.

[1 Ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν. Τί δέ ἐστιν, ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν; ἐν τῷ σώματι τούτῳ, φησὶ, τῷ θνητῷ καὶ ἐπικήρῳ. Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ ὄστρακον ἐκ πηλοῦ καὶ πυρὸς γίνεται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων πήλινον ὄν, καὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ πυρὸς δεξάμενον τὴν ἐνέργειαν, γέγονεν ὄστρακον. Καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν τοῦτο γεγένηται, καὶ θησαυρὸν τοσοῦτον καὶ χαρισμάτων δαψιλείαν θνητῷ καὶ φθαρτῷ σώματι ἐναπέθετο; ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ᾖ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν. Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τοὺς ἀποστόλους νεκροὺς μὲν ἀνιστῶντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἀῤῥωστίας, εἶσῃ σαφῶς ὅτι ἡ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἀνάστασις οὐ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἀναστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος γέγονεν. Chrysostom, Hom. x. ad Pop. Antioch. Opera II. 110. Edit. Par. 1718—38.]

some into the Marshalsea, some have been inclosed up into the Tower; some are racked, some scourged, other some burned, other some are defaced, slandered and persecuted with venomous and lying tongues, which deprave all their doings, be they never so upright and godly.

Plenteous reward another cause.

Another cause why they are afflicted is, that their reward may be greater and more abundant; for if it be true that Paul says, "They that suffer with Christ shall reign with him," ergo, they that suffer much shall more gloriously be crowned. They suffer with Christ, which sustain undeserved misery as he did. There is but one kingdom, but there be divers crowns and many mansions in this kingdom. And every man's reward shall not be equal, as Jovinian doth teach, but according to his doings and sufferings, as Paul teacheth in another place, saying, *Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus seculi, et cetera*, "The griefs of this life be not comparable to the joys of the other life:" where he exhorteth men to venture boldly to set forth God's glory, in consideration and hope of plenteous reward; for the more danger, the more renown and glory. And, "as one star differeth from another in clearness," as the moon is not so resplendent and bright as the sun, Mercury and Mars be not so clear and dyant as Venus is; so shall it be after this life among the sons of God. They shall all have the penny of immortality; but not of the like fineness, not like reward, not like measure of joys. *Qui parce seminat*, "He that hath sown plenteously, shall reap plenteously, and he that hath sown little, shall reap thereafter in God's kingdom;" as the famous and godly father St Hierom[1] proveth in his learned treatise against the great

2 Tim. ii.

John xiv.

Against Jovinian's heresy.

Rom. viii.

1 Cor. xv.

2 Cor. ix.

St Hierom.

[1 "Alia," inquit, "claritas solis, et alia claritas lunæ." Ne stellam et stellam totum humanæ multitudinis assereres genus, solem posuit et lunam, quos certe inter hircos non poteris numerare. "Sic," inquit, "erit et resurrectio mortuorum," ut justi in claritate solis luceant, et qui in sequenti gradu sunt, lunæ splendore rutilent; ut alius Lucifer sit, alius Arcturus, alius Orion, alius Mazuroth, et cetera stellarum vocabula, quæ sacratæ in Job volumine continentur. "Omnes enim," ait, "manifestari nos oportet ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque quæ gessit per corpus, sive bonum sive malum." Ac ne forsitan dicas ante tribunal Christi nos manifestari, ut boni bona, mali recipiant mala, in eadem epistola docet: "Qui parce seminat, parce et metet; et qui seminat in benedictionibus, de benedictionibus et metet."

heretic Jovinian, discussing all reasons brought of him for the contrary assertion. Thus much of affliction, oppression, and patience of saints, which is thankworthy.

Patience and affliction of saints.

It followeth in the text: "But if ye be buffeted for your faults, and then take it patiently, what praise is it worthy? If you do well and be troubled, this is worthy thank." Here St Peter describeth unto us, well-beloved hearers, another kind of affliction, trouble, and patience, albeit not so precise and commendable in the sight of God as the first, yet no less necessary for the most part of men. Some endure grief for honesty sake, for the augmentation of God's glory, and for hope of plenteous reward; other some be afflicted for their sins and offences, for their ill lives and conversation, with innumerable plagues of God's displeasure and wrath, with poverty, with sickness, with imprisonment, with loss of their good, with war, with hunger and famine, with pestilence, casualty of fire, with blindness, with deafness, with lameness, with dearth of all things, with death of their friends and others. All these be plagues with which the eternal God punisheth us when he is discontent and angry. It is not the magistrates that throweth transgressors into prison, that hangeth thieves on the gallows, and beheadeth traitors; it is God, whose ministers they be, who will be displeased if transgressors be not punished. Both kinds of patience are to be exercised and embraced; and as the first, which is in suffering wrong, shall be highly rewarded, so this patience is not to be rejected. Peter doth not commend the first in dispraise of the later, but would have both practised and used. For if he will us to suffer undeserved, much more we ought to suffer patiently for our sins and deservings. Happy are they that endure griefs, and are buffeted for their sins and

2 Cor. xi.

Certe et qui plus et qui minus seminat, de parte sunt dextra. Et quum unum sementis genus sit, tamen mensura et numero differunt. Scribit ad Ephesios idem Paulus: "Ut nota fieret nunc principatibus et potestatibus in cœlis per ecclesiam multiplex et varia sapientia Dei." Cernis quod in diversis agminibus ecclesiæ varia et multiplex sapientia Dei prædicetur? Necnon in eadem epistola: "Uniquique autem nostrum data est gratia juxta mensuram gratiæ Christi:" non quod mensura Christi diversa sit, sed tantum gratiæ ejus infunditur, quantum valemus haurire. Hieronym. advers. Jovinianum. Lib. II. Opera, IV. 216. Edit. Paris. 1693—1706.]

offences in this life; they shall not be damned in the other life. It is a sign of God's favour, an occasion of amendment; and ease and wealth in this world is a token of God's displeasure.

Adversity better than prosperity.

Our nature is such that prosperity depraveth us. Prosperity bringeth many men unto destruction, filleth them with pride, with covetousness, maketh men negligent, dissolute, forgetful, unthankful. Stories make relation that the

Pythagoras.

famous philosopher Pythagoras, being a private man, was in great admiration with the people for his wonderful abstinence, for his sobriety, for his taciturnity, gravity, and learning. Afterwards, when he was promoted unto a kingdom, he was more abhorred and hated for his pride, for his covetousness and cruelties, than he was loved before for his great virtues and knowledge. Therefore the wise man admonisheth, *Cum comederis, et biberis, et fueris impletus, tunc attende tibi ipsi;* "When thou hast refreshed thyself, and art full of meat and drink, and other things, then take heed to thyself; thou standest on a slippery ground." Again, adversity maketh us lowly, gentle, diligent, circumspect, pitiful; garnisheth us with all flowers of virtue, and

David.

expelleth all sin. David, as long as he was in trouble and vexation under Saul, was in favour with God and famous among the people; but after that he reigned and governed Israel prosperously, did he not fall into murder? Did he not commit advoutry? Did he not tempt God, and waxed proud of the number of his subjects? The devil is crafty. Those which he cannot supplant by adversity, he overthroweth with

The Israelites.

prosperity. The Israelites, as long as they made brick and tile in Egypt, and were oppressed of Pharao, they remembered God, they flourished and increased in number; but after their deliverance, after they were fed with quails and angels' food, after many glorious victories, they rebelled against Moses, their captain and governor, and were slain

Solomon.

therefore in the wilderness, almost all. Salomon, as long as he was careful how, in his young age, he might govern his people quietly and prosperously, obtained in his dream wisdom, intelligence, and discretion to order a commonwealth. But after that prosperity, wealth, ease, honour, and plenty of all things embraced him, he became an idolater, a tenderling, a glutton, an advoutrer, and was filled with all iniquity,

and utterly lost the favour of God. If therefore thou be in welfare and authority, beware thou be not wrapped in sin and in the nets of the devil. Thou art not wiser than Salomon, nor stronger than David. If God scourge thee with trouble, think that as he afflicted Joseph's brethren, and Achab, and Manasses, for their amendment, that he afflicted thee also for thy erudition and commodity.

Sin is the cause of all troubles which chance either to subjects, or to governors and rulers. Men be ready one to eat another for possessions, commodities, and offices. The rich oppress the commons, and hold them under in poverty and misery. The clergy and spiritualty are wronge and oppressed; their tithes are grudged and withholden. Noble benefactors, which did build houses and endow them with lands for the good education of youth, for the reward of learning, and that this realm should be furnished with godly and learned preachers, are slandered as superstitious and popish founders. It shall be better with the heathen at the day of judgment than with us; for they honoured their benefactors, we deprave and deface them, and accuse them of superstition and folly. You will say: "There is no preaching; they lie from their benefices; one man hath many parsonages, prebends, deaneries, archdeaconships, and doth nothing therefore but pamper and cherish himself." Why do the magistrates suffer these things? Why is not all negligence reformed by some ecclesiastical laws? Many statutes and acts have been made to get away spiritual livings, and to convert them from a godly use to a worse; but no statutes be made to reform the men, to redress negligence, to correct idleness, and to set men a-work to preach in the Lord's vineyard. Why are not such as have great promotions compelled to do their duties and vocations, and to take great pains by good laws and statutes, or else removed from their livings? God inspire the hearts of our magistrates to consider this matter! For this purpose they are exalted to authority and office; not to spoil noble foundations for the illness of ministers; not to decay the office of preaching for the sin and negligence of a few; but to redress and reform all enormities and disorders, and to advance God's religion and truth. Their

authority is to reform, not to destroy; to do justice and right, not to do evil; to amend things, and not to convert them to a worse use; forasmuch as they have it of God, from whom no evil cometh, and they be his officers, ministers, and vicegerents.

There is no greater token of a disordered commonwealth than the contempt of God's ministers, than that presbyters, that is, priests and teachers, be so wronge, so oppressed, so despised, so scourged, so fromped, so infamed. As the temporal magistrate is God's minister over your bodies, and of the temporal sword, so they be God's ministers of the spiritual sword upon your souls, God's lieutenants and servants, his deputies and vicegerents, the distributers of his holy sacraments, and teachers of his sacred word. Paul pronounceth such to be worthy of double honour; and the eternal God, speaking of a shameful commonwealth and of the worst people that can be, among many other notable crimes he recounteth this contempt the greatest; saying, by the mouth of his prophet Hosea iv.: *Erunt tanquam populus qui contradicit sacerdoti.* "They shall," saith the prophet, "be like unto a people which despiseth and gainsayeth the priest." If he could have found a worse thing, he would, no doubt, have uttered it. Remember this saying of Hosea, who was also a priest, and let it move thee to reward God's lieutenants and vicegerents better hereafter. Though many priests be evil, live wantonly, carnally, idly, and unthriftily, (the Lord inspire the magistrates to put forth some discipline for the amendment!) yet is the order and office of ministration worshipful and honourable; and it is an anabaptistical opinion to decay ministration, to hate the order, to take away the livings of preachers, for the illness and negligence of some ministers. I fear me, this opinion of the anabaptists doth infect many. Knights and gentlemen be caterpillers and extortioners, yet the order of knighthood and gentle blood is honourable. Hate not priesthood therefore, but hate the vices of ill men, which cause the vocation to be ill reported; and pray unto God to touch the king's majesty's heart, and his honourable council's, to reform all negligence by an ecclesiastical law. Judas was a traitor: is therefore the room and office of an apostle to be dispraised? No!

1 Tim. v.

Hosea iv.

but his covetous and traiterous mind is to be blamed. Many physicians have poisoned and murdered men with their medicines; many shipmasters have suffered shipwreck[1]; we must not therefore reject, disallow, or condemn the arts either of physic or of governance, which both are needful and profitable, but the negligence and vices of men: and so likewise in ministration and priesthood. We acknowledge God's justice, that we are buffeted and oppressed for our faults and offences. God suffereth both us and his people to be plagued and tossed in many tempests, for the best, for our reformation and amendment; to admonish us all of our sins, which else we would forget, and to stir us unto penance and prayer.

The conclusion.

I beseech you, brethren, both spiritual and lay, in the bowels of Jesus Christ for his mercies and clemency, accept and take your adversity to be sent you of God for your amendment: think that he scourgeth you for your sins: rectify your lives and conversations, and he will take away his rod and scourge. Adversity is profitable unto us, as we may learn of our own children: except they be beaten, they will learn no virtue, no goodness. We have more need to be beaten than they, forasmuch as our faults be greater and mo in number. God, therefore, hath commanded master Adversity to be our overseer and governor; and as long as any uncleanness, any spot of sin, shall remain in us, he will never cease, but continually trouble and buffet us. The goldsmith, until he see his gold well tried, will not take it out of the fire: no more will God, for he is a goldsmith, and we must be gold. *Probabit me quasi aurum*; "He will try me like gold," saith Job xxiii.; and Paul, 2 Tim. ii., calleth us golden vessels. If we will take his scourge patiently, he hath promised us the reward of eternal life. If we will not, but grudge and be impatient, yet adversity shall molest and vex us, and then we shall lose our reward. Covetous men, thieves, harlots, envious men, mockers and scorners, unthrifts, and all the devil's children, have their smarts and griefs, live in anguish and sorrow in this life, as well as good men. He that will not be God's martyr shall perforce be the devil's martyr, as was Cain, and Judas, and divers other. Seeing,

Job xxiii.

2 Tim. ii.

[1] Shipwarke, in MS.]

then, that both good and evil be here scourged and afflicted, let us choose that affliction by which we may enter into eternal rest, and reign with Christ and God the Father, of whom let us ask the gift of patience and sufferance with hearty prayer and invocation.

THE PRAYER.

O eternal God, who doth scourge thy people with trouble and adversity to punish sin, and to cause them to return and repent, and to amend their lives; make us able by thy gracious help to endure all griefs, all oppression and smarts, with patience and gladness, and without malice against our oppressors, and make our trouble a schoolmaster unto us, of humility, of diligence, of pity and compassion, of patience, of soberness, and unto all virtues; that we may be worthy thank and eternal reward, and become like unto Christ thy Son, and reign with him evermore; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory.
So be it.

THE SECOND SERMON

OF OPPRESSION, AFFLICTION, AND PATIENCE.

In my last sermon, well-beloved in the Lord, I entreated two sentences which were part of the epistle; in which I declared that St Peter exhorted us unto two things; first, to despise all adversity and troubles for the advancing of God's glory, for the name of Christ, and for conscience sake. This is the patience and affliction of God's saints and martyrs, which is worthy thank and plenteous reward. I told you that God hath two sorts of martyrs; one sort, of them which have confirmed and fortified our faiths in Christ's testament with the effusion of their blood; the other sort I declared to be those that are oppressed unrighteously, and do take it patiently and thankfully. I rehearsed also two causes why God letteth his saints be here scourged and buffeted. Secondarily, St Peter exhorted us to suffer patiently and quietly for our misdeeds and deservings; and to accept our adversity and oppression to be sent us from God for our amendment and reformation. Now I will finish that I began, and go through the remnant of the epistle. "Hereunto verily are ye called: for Christ suffered for us," &c. That I may speak thereof to the glory of God, and find out lessons meet for your instruction and this audience, let us begin with prayer. Let us pray to our heavenly Father for all the company of faithful men and women throughout all countries and dominions, namely for the congregation of England and Ireland, desiring him, of his fatherly goodness, to continue and strengthen both us and them in the confession and obedience of his name and truth; and also for all infidels and unbelievers, that God may turn their hearts to believe upon his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; for St Paul unto Timothe commandeth us to pray for all men, for the king's majesty, &c.

The eternal God, which made heaven and earth for us, well-beloved in the Lord, and sent his Son Jesus Christ in the ends of the world to redeem us from the bondage

Why God hath ordained man to live in labours.

of the spiritual Nimroth, and to restore us when we were forlorn and perished, hath ordained us here to live in affliction, in troubles, in dangers, in displeasures, in divers griefs, thereby to compel and force us not to esteem this present life, and to make us to groan and sigh for the life to come. This is now the vocation of every christian man, and our calling, of which Peter telleth, saying, "Hereunto verily ye are called." It is the ordinance of God, his will, his determination and judgment, as appeareth plainly, Gen. iii., *Quia auscultasti, &c:* "Because," saith Almighty God unto Adam, "thou hast obeyed thy wife, and hast tasted of that tree of which I charged thee not to taste; cursed be the earth in thy work; in sorrow shalt thou eat thereof all thy days. It shall bear unto thee thorns, brambles, and thistles; thou shalt eat the herbs of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou return unto earth from whence thou camest." Here we be admonished that we all must eat the bread of sorrow and tears in this life. The righteousness and wisdom of God hath so determined and provided: there is no remedy. Therefore Peter doth put us in remembrance of our vocation and calling.

Gen. iii.

Our calling doth enlighten our sorrow.

The remembrance of our calling ought to lighten our sorrow, and to make it less grievous and more tolerable, considering that our present trouble doth warrant us eternal reward. It ought also to make us more circumspect and diligent to avoid the cause of all trouble, which is sin and iniquity. But let us consider our vocation yet more deeply. Why doth God call us to affliction? Why did God curse the earth? Why doth it bring forth brambles, nettles, all manner of weeds and unfruitful trees? Adam and his wife sinned, they disobeyed God's voice, not the earth. He cursed the earth, not to pain or afflict it, which is insensible and feeleth no pain, but for two causes. First, as he made it for us, so he cursed it to afflict us; and also to admonish us of our sin, to put us in remembrance of our disobedience and rebellion, that the decay thereof may be a warning unto us as often as we see it, as we cannot but see it every day, to take heed that we sin no more, *ne quid deterius contingat*, "lest," as Christ saith in the gospel, "grievous trouble fall on us." By unfruitful trees, he warneth us that we be not unfruitful. For God

John v.

is a husbandman, and we be trees of his planting; "we be," saith St Paul, *Dei agricultura*, "God's husbandry." 1 Cor. iii. Hearken also, what his only Son saith, John xv., whom we John xv. are commanded to hear: "I am the true vine, and my Father is a husbandman. He that abideth not in me is cast forth as a branch withered, and men gather it and throw it into the fire, and it burneth." As husbandmen forsake their trees, and will not dung nor water them, when they be barren, but do fell them to burn, so doth God. He ceaseth to bestow his heavenly gifts and spiritual benefits upon those that be without oil in their lamps, that is, unfruitful in their doings, and void of good works; as appeareth by the ensample of the five foolish virgins, and in the fig tree Matt. xxv. Mark xi. which was cursed. This fruit we may gather of the fig tree, and of all other barren and unfruitful trees. For the same cause man is subject also to sickness and diseases, which then began to torment man, when God said, "In sorrow shalt thou eat thereof." In the word "sorrow" all diseases be contained and inclosed. Therefore this memory of unfruitful ground, of unprofitable herbs, of barren trees, of sickness and diseases, shall remain and continue until the sting of death, which is sin, be utterly slain, and until that be performed which is written, "Death is consumed 1 Cor. xv. into victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory?" For the love of God remember your vocations, good people; esteem not this life, sigh for the life to come; endure smarts and displeasures, bear oppressors and extortioners, with all patience and sufferance.

God punished the earth also, to teach us that no sin, no fault, be it never so small, shall escape unpunished. For if he punished the earth for our offences, truly he will not spare us. What art thou which trustest to escape God's hand? Whither canst thou fly from him? We cannot fly from him but by flying unto him. We cannot escape his wrath, which is his righteousness, but by appealing unto his mercy. For these two causes the earth was cursed.

For the same skill, to make us to long for the life hereafter, the apostle witnesseth that all creatures be subdued Rom. viii. unto vanity, and do mourn and weep ever sith the fall of Adam to be restored again to their former liberty and to their first estate of perfection, and men only be uncareful

and merry. For albeit we sustain continual troubles; albeit hunger and cold, labours and sickness, molest us; albeit infinite sorrows wound us; yet, notwithstanding all these plagues, we are so dissolute, we are so snared and allured with the baits of the devil, with enticements, vain pleasures, and the foolish frailty of our flesh, that we forget altogether our first creation, our vocation, our misery, and the lamentable groanings of all creatures. And which of us doth not long, even as a woman great with barne, to continue still in this life, as if there were neither misery here nor reward afterward? What would we do if all things should chance prosperously unto us? Ah, good Lord! how negligent, how dissolute would man be, except master Adversity were his overseer and schoolmaster! Therefore think of thy vocation. Thou art in poverty; thou hast the cholic, and the stone; thou the another;[1] thou art almost blind for age; thou art barren; thou art deaf; thou art lame and crooked: God buffeteth thee with all these plagues for thy offences, and to tire and weary thee; to make thee to cry with Paul, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ;" and with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine*, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace."

Phil. i.

Luke ii.

It followeth in the text: "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example, to follow his footsteps." Among many things, good brethren, which ought to move us to have patience and sufferance, nothing ought so to persuade, so to prevail, and so to pierce a christian man, as the blessed example of Jesus Christ, his Saviour and high Shepherd. He descended into this world from the throne of God's majesty, not only to seek the sheep that was gone astray, not only to recover that Adam had lost; but also, as Peter saith, "He suffered to give us an example to follow his footsteps" in patience and sufferance, and to be a pattern and a mirror of all virtue and honest behaviour. St Paul teacheth us the same, 1 Cor. xv., saying: "The first man was of the earth, earthly; the second man is from heaven, heavenly." *Quomodo portavimus imaginem terreni, ita portemus imaginem cœlestis:*" "As we have borne the image of the earthly, so," saith Paul, "we must bear the image of the heavenly;" that is, of Jesus Christ our Lord. Now,

Christ suffered for our redemption and example.

1 Cor. xv.

[1] So the MS.]

how shall we bear the image of Christ? He endured all griefs, all smarts and displeasures, all man's infirmities and anguish, only ignorance and sin excepted. He became the son of a poor carpenter; was so bare and needy that he was born in a stable; a manger was his cradle; an ox and an ass kept him warm, for lack of fuel, by breathing on him; he was so afflicted with hunger, that the devil took occasion thereby to make him to tempt God, and to turn stones into bread; he was scourged so sore with sickness, that his body poured forth drops of blood; he was persecuted and defaced with slanderous tongues, falsely accused, was whipped, buffeted, scorned, unrighteously condemned. He was bespetted, who with his spit gave sight to the blind; was scourged, whose only name scourged devils; they stripped him of his coat, that clotheth us with the garment of immortality; compelled him to drink gall mingled with vinegar, who refresheth us with the heavenly drink of his blood; he was cruelly murdered of his own nation, and was recounted among wicked doers, which shall judge the wicked; his sorrows were so grievous, so exceeding, and so intolerable, that the prophet crieth in his behalf and person, *O vos omnes qui transitis, attendite, &c.* "Behold and mark," saith the prophet, "if there be any pain comparable unto mine." We must bear his image, both poor and rich, by sustaining sickness, rebukes, imprisonment, oppression, yea, and death also, if need shall be, patiently and quietly. [Lam. i. 12.]

The rich man must suffer with Christ, in that he made himself poor to enrich many: that is, he must abate his dainty fare, leave off his sumptuous buildings, content himself with moderate expences and comely apparel, rather under his degree than above, and delight more in adorning his poor brethren than in beautifying his house, than in sumptuous buildings, or great horse; considering that he is not proprietary or owner of his substance, but God's amner and officer, to help the fatherless, to defend widows, to comfort the lame and blind, and to give exhibition to poor scholars for the continuance of learning. At the general and last audit Jesus Christ, whom God the Father hath made our high auditor, will ask accounts of every rich man, how he hath bestowed his charge and receipts. Let

them discharge themselves as well as they can. The poor man also must suffer with Christ, by taking his poverty thankfully, and through exercising obedience and humility towards his governors and superiors. Christ suffered all his anguish, pains, and troubles for our offences and misdoings. How could he suffer for himself, who prayed not for himself, who fasted not for himself, neither was baptized for himself? "Who," as Peter saith, "did no sin, neither any guile issued out of his lips;" in whom no fraud, no deceit, no wrinkle or blemish of sin could be found.

Consider now, thou covetous man, thou oppressor, thou idolater, thou swearer, thou flatterer, thou whore, thou bawd, thou advoutrer, thou backbiter and slanderer, what cause thou hast to tremble and fear, and to suffer patiently. Christ suffered for thy sins, for thy amendment; and wilt not thou suffer for thyself? He suffered unrighteously, as is written, Psal. lxix. *Quæ non rapui, tunc exsolvebam:* thou wilt not suffer righteously. He suffered, being son and heir of the eternal God; and yet do we men grudge and repine at God's rod and punishments. Did God scourge his Son, and will he forbear thee? Learn to bear Christ's image, follow his footsteps, and thou shalt learn wisdom; "for trouble," saith Isai. xxviii. Esai. xxviii., "giveth understanding:" thou shalt learn all Christ's image teacheth us all virtues. virtue, all godliness and honest behaviour. He that is patient can never fall into adultery, for he is content with his own mate and wife. He cannot fall into murder nor manslaughter, because he cannot be moved to wrath nor anger, which is the mother of murder. A patient man is not covetous, is no oppressor, is no bribe-taker; he contenteth himself with his own substance, refresheth himself with his own, and desireth not the goods of others. He is no swearer, no brawler, no slanderer, no flatterer. He pardoneth lightly those that displease him. He is circumspect and diligent. He hateth nobody, loveth his enemies and oppressors, and prayeth unto God for them. Thus you see, that the consideration of Christ's patience and example, and to bear his image, expelleth all sin, garnisheth us with all virtues, and fulfilleth all God's commandments.

An objection. But you will say, Adversity, need, and poverty overthroweth many, causeth them to blaspheme God, maketh men desperate, causeth them to pick and purloin, to rob

and steal, to maintain their necessities. If adversity did cause these things, "then," saith Chrysostom[1], "Toby would have blasphemed God, Job would have cursed and despaired, the prophets and apostles would have stolen somewhat to maintain and keep them withal; for they were in extreme need and poverty." Seeing they neither blasphemed, nor despaired, nor purloined, how doth adversity cause these things? If it were ill, or cause of sin, to be oppressed with poverty, with sickness, or otherwise, God would not have commanded patience; for he commandeth no evil things. He would not have sent his Son to have suffered such intolerable smarts, anguish, and sorrows for our example and erudition. What is it, then, that causeth such as be in trouble to blaspheme, to steal, and to despair? Verily not temptation and trouble, but, as the poet saith, *mala mens, malus animus*, the dissoluteness, the froward mind, the negligence and impatiency of those that be troubled and tempted. He that despaireth and blasphemeth in trouble would behave himself much worse in prosperity and welfare; would be proud, covetous, wanton, ambitious, negligent, unmerciful, forgetful, and only set his delight upon vain pleasures. All these vices wait on mistress Prosperity.

The answer. Chrysostom, Hom. de patientia.

Again, adversity maketh us more renowned with men, and more beloved with God, as appeared in Job; and if we be sinners, it pacifieth God's wrath and blotteth out our sins; setting us at one with God the Father through Christ his Son, as David teacheth us, saying, psalm xxv., "Look

Psal. xxv.

[1 Ἐν ἡμῖν γάρ ἐστι καὶ κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ βλάπτεσθαι. Οὐ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τῶν δεινῶν τοῦτο γίνεται, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν προαίρεσιν. Οἷόν τι λέγω· ἔπαθε τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἰωβ, εὐχαρίστως ἤνεγκεν, ἐδικαιώθη, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παθὼν εὐχαρίστως ἤνεγκεν. Ἕτερος τὰ αὐτὰ παθὼν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ, (οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τοιαῦτα παθὼν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἐλάττονα,) ἐδυσφήμησεν, ἠγανάκτησε, κατηράσατο τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ, ἐδυσχέρανε πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Οὗτος κατεκρίθη καὶ κατεδικάσθη, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐβλασφήμησεν· ἐβλασφήμησε δὲ, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῶν συμβάντων· ἐπεὶ εἰ ἡ ἀνάγκη τῶν συμβάντων τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ἔδει καὶ τὸν Ἰωβ βλασφημῆσαι. Εἰ δὲ χαλεπώτερα παθὼν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα συνέβη, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς προαιρέσεως. Chrysostom. Hom. ix. in 2 Epist. ad Tim. ch. v. Opera, xi. 719. Edit. Paris. 1718—38.]

upon my trouble and my adversity, and forgive me all my offences." He desireth pardon of his sins in consideration of his trouble. Doth not Paul preach the same, saying,

1 Cor. xi. "When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, lest we be damned with the world?" And we are taught the same by the prophet, psalm lxxxix., *Si dereliquerint filii tui*

Psal. lxxxix. *legem meam, &c.* "If thy sons break my law, I will visit their sins with my scourge, and their offences with stripes; but my mercy shall not be denied them." If we will reign with Christ, we must suffer with him. If we will rise, we must first die with him. We must first go to hell with him, if we will go to heaven with him.

It followeth, *Qui cum malediceretur, &c.*, "When he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not;" but, as the Septuagints do read, *παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως*, "He committed vengeance to him that judgeth righteously;" that is, to God, the punisher of ill doers: or, as the old translation after the Hebrew doth read, "He submitteth himself to him that judged him unrighteously," that is, to Pontius Pilate, governor of Jewry, condemning him. Both readings may truly be referred to Christ.

We must not only be patient in trouble, but also our patience must be garnished with certain properties: for Socrates among the heathen, and Anaxagoras,[1] were patient men. Here, therefore, we are taught what christian patience is, and what things ought to be annexed therewith, by the example of Jesus Christ; who came as well for our example and condition, as for our redemption and deliverance. The heathen and philosophers profess a certain kind of sufferance, in that they regarded not the grievous chances of this life, which they name *tela fortunæ*, "the strokes or dints of fortune;" but they lacked the patience that God esteemeth, and is commended unto us in Christ's example, because,

Christian patience, and ethnical.

Rom. i. as Paul saith, Rom. i., *Deum cognoverunt, &c.*, "Though they knew God, yet they did not glorify him therein, but themselves." Christ, when he was reviled, miscalled, and slandered, he held his peace. The Jews, scribes, and Pharisees, named him Beelzebub; reported him to be a sabbath-breaker, a rebel, an enemy and traitor to Cæsar, an heretic, a magician, a seducer of the people, and a blas-

[1 Vide note, p. 80.]

phemer of God; yet he called them still unto repentance, healed their sick, gave sight to their blind, made the deaf to hear, their lame to go, raised their dead unto life, expulsed devils out of many, taught them both by himself and by his apostles, sought their conversion and amendment by all means possible, would have gathered them under his wings, as a hen doth her chickens; yea, he was touched with so great pity and compassion, that he wept over Jerusalem, and prayed for those that put him to death. This is the christian patience esteemed with God, to love his enemies, to help them, to succour them in need, to defend them, to give them good counsel, and not only words and counsel, but also, if need be, meat and drink, apparel and all other necessaries; for so Christ, whose image we must bear, did unto Judas. He knew Judas to be a traitor; nevertheless he suffered him to the hour of his death, ceased not to admonish him, to use all means possible to reform him, dined and supped always with him, suffered him to eat of his Easter lamb, and to taste of the dainties of his last supper, of the holy sacrament of his blessed body and comfortable blood. How far wide were the heathen and philosophers from this sufferance! Epaminondas, a captain of the Thebans, is famous among them, because, when he had put the Lacedemonians to flight in battle at Mantinea, perceiving himself deadly wounded, hearing that his shield was safe, he was nothing dismayed nor discouraged, but died both patiently and merrily. They extol likewise Marcus Regulus. He was taken prisoner by Amilcar, Hannibal's father, and he was sent of the Carthaginians to persuade the Roman senators to change and corse[2] certain prisoners; but because they were young captains of great hope, and he was old and unwieldy, he dissuaded that he was sent for in the senate, and chose rather to return to Carthage, where he knew he should be miserably afflicted, than to tarry at Rome with his wife and children, and to enjoy his lands with the hinderance of the commonwealth. These were civil and laudable facts in the sight of the world, but unworthy reward at God's hand, for so much as they were done for glory and renown in this life, and not in faith, without which nothing is acceptable with God.

Luke vii. Matt. ix.

Matt. xxiii. Luke xix.

Epaminondas. [Cicero, Epist. ad Divers. v. 12.]

M. Regulus. [Cicero, De Officiis, i. 13.]

Heb. xi.

[2 So the MS.]

True and christian patience is not vain-glorious, is not void of faith, is associate with humility, is powdered and salted with obedience to all God's commandments, is garnished with hope of the life to come, with modesty, with soberness, with gravity, with wisdom, with love, not only of our friends and lovers, but also of our slanderers, of our backbiters, of our mockers and scorners, of our oppressors and robbers and most cruel enemies. Who was a more cruel enemy than king Saul was to David? Saul sought his death continually, chased and pursued him from post to pillar, from place to place; yet behold with what patience David forbare him! In his lifetime he obeyed him, did him honourable and manly service in his wars, spared and delivered him from death divers times, when he might have slain him and have been king after him; and after his death, then being in possession of the kingdom, he destroyed not his enemies' blood, neither sought vengeance, but then chiefly declared how much he loved his enemies, whilst he lived. Saul had but one son alive, named Miphiboseth, and he was lame. David took him home to his palace, endued him with great lands, honoured him so for his father's sake that he never neither dined nor supped without Miphiboseth, delighted much in his company, nor thought not his kindly table to be dishonested with the presence of a lame man; and therefore God favoured and prospered him. Such love and patience must be in us. We may not inflame and revile, curse and threaten: we must love and embrace our oppressors; and not only them, but also their children, as David did Miphiboseth, and Christ Judas. Say not now, 'He is my utter enemy, he is too cruel and fierce upon me, he will never amend.' Though he be grievous and sore to thee, yet he is not so fierce, so cruel, so despiteful, as Saul was to David, neither as the Jews were to thy Saviour, Jesus of Nazareth. Hath he robbed thee of thy right and taken thy lands from thee, or withholdeth thy father's legacies?—but he hath not taken away thy life, as Saul would have done to David, and as the Jews did to Christ. And though he sought thy death once, percase, yet he sought it not oftentimes, as Saul did.

Mephibosheth.

Here a question may be demanded: If we must be patient in wrong and injury, if we may not desire to be avenged, but

pray for our oppressors and pardon them, whether is it lawful for a christian man to go to law with his neighbour, and to sue a just and a right title? Whether may a man sue forfeits against regrators, forestallers and other oppressors? Or ought patience to restrain us from all suit and contention? "Aye," saith master anabaptist, "for Christ our Master, whose example we must follow, he would not condemn an advoutress woman to be stoned to death according to the law, but shewed pity to her, and said, 'Go and sin no more'," John viii.; neither would he, being desired to be an arbiter, judge between two brethren, and determine their suit, Luke xii. When the people would have made him a king, he conveyed himself out of sight, and would not take on him any such office. Christ, the Son of God, would not have refused these offices and functions, if with the profession of a christian man it were agreeable with the temporal sword to punish offenders, to sustain any public room and to determine controversies and suits; if it were lawful for private men to prosecute such suits, and to sue just and rightful titles. He *non est dominatus, sed passus;* would be no magistrate, no judge, no governor, but suffered and sustained trouble, injury, wrong, and oppression patiently. And so must we; for Paul saith, "That those which he foreknew he also ordained before, *ut essent conformes imagini Filii sui*, that they should be alike fashioned unto the shape of his Son."

Whether christian men may sue one another.

An objection.

John viii.

Luke xii.

John vi.

Rom. viii.

I answer: Instead of the temporal sword, which you say Christ's coming hath put down, you teach that now excommunication is to be exercised upon offenders, so that they which in the old testament were punished with death, are now only to be excommunicated. How then can you excuse Christ's fact? Why did not he excommunicate the adulterous woman? Why did he not excommunicate him that oppressed his brother? Though excommunication be a godly and necessary ceremony for discipline and for conservation of a good order in Christ's church, (the Lord restore the right and true use thereof to his church again!) nevertheless it doth not disannul civil government, nor take away the temporal sword. For Paul, speaking of temporal magistrates, Rom. xiii., affirmeth that "they be God's ministers," that he hath girded them with the sword, with rule,

The answer.

Excommunication.

Rom. xiii.

with authority, to defend innocents, to deliver the oppressed, and to chasten offenders. They are in office under God to this end; whereof it must needs follow, that it is lawful for such as be oppressed and put from their right, to fly unto them for succour, help, and remedy, as shall be proved more evidently hereafter.

First, I will make answer to Christ's example, which the libertines and anabaptists fondly and unlearnedly, or rather impudently, do allege against civil government, because they would live in all sin without punishment. Christ did let the adulterous woman depart unpunished, he would be no arbiter of inheritance, he refused to be a prince, not condemning these functions and offices as unlawful, ungodly, or wicked, but teaching us that his office was not outward and temporal, but spiritual and heavenly. The Jews trusted that the Seed promised should be an earthly prince and a temporal king, which by force of arms should deliver them from the tyranny of the Roman empire, and make all nations their tributaries and servants. They sought in Christ not remission of their sins, not sanctification, not God's favour, but outward commodities, preferments, offices, and the glory and promotions of this life, as many have done of late in England. Under the name of the gospel and of a reformation, how many have enriched themselves, and stopped the prosperous success of the gospel! How many have scraped, gathered, and swept all to themselves, pretending they swept abuses out of the house of God! We detest the pope, yet we follow him in covetousness. We defy him not for religion sake, but as one covetous man hateth another; according to the common proverb, *figulus figulum odit.* He depraved God's holy word through shameful covetousness: so it is to be feared lest the same vice do poison us, bring us out of favour with God, and disorder the commonwealth, to the oppression and undoing of many thousands.

Mark ix. Luke ix. Christ's disciples were infected with this poison, they had like opinion with the Jews; as appeareth plainly, in that they strove which of them should be chiefest and bear the swing;

Matt. xx. and also the examples of James and John, which by their mother were suitors, one to be placed on his right hand and the other on his left hand, do evidently teach no less: but he was sent into this miserable vale from God his Father

for no such purpose, but to preach, and to pray to his Father for us; to offer himself a slain and bloody sacrifice for our sins, and to sanctify us with his word; for these offices and functions he was incarnate and became man, as the reverend, godly, and learned father, John Hoper, bishop of Worcester, declareth more at large in his book "Of Christ's Office[1]."

To revoke the Jews and his disciples from this carnal opinion and gross error, which came of covetousness, to instruct them that his office, his commission, and authority was not outward, but spiritual, and stood not in riches, in pleasures, in health, wealth, and power in this world, but in loosing or binding the conscience of man and woman, he refused to be a civil magistrate, refused to punish advoutery with the temporal sword, refused to be an arbiter of inheritance, referring the discussion of all worldly matter, suits, and corporal punishments to temporal men, exalted to authority for that purpose, as he saith himself: Matt. xxii. *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari*, "Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's;" understanding by the name of Cæsar all bailiffs, constables, sheriffs, justices, and kings, emperors, and all other officers and temporal rulers; which all be God's vicegerents and lieutenants, to punish usurers, bribers, forestallers, regrators and others' oppressors, and to succour and defend the oppressed and helpless. He sheweth but a difference between temporal and ecclesiastical regiment, rejecting neither jurisdiction, but approving both. For he Matt. xvii. himself was obedient to temporal rulers, and paid tribute to Cæsar, and commanded others to exercise like obedience. If temporal government and jurisdiction be founded on God's commandment, is it unlawful for us, when we be oppressed, to ask their help, to seek remedy at their hands, to fly to their authority? Let us consider the office and duty of a christian man herein, and what may be justified by the ensamples of godly men, or by plain and evident testimony of the scriptures. In the time of the old testament it was lawful to such as believed in Christ to come, to try the law The old Christians. for their right, and to sue one another. For whereas Moses

[1 Bishop Hooper's "Declaration of Christe and of his offyce," was printed at Zurich by Augustyn Fries, in 1547. No edition of it was printed in England until 1582.]

was not able to determine all controversies and suits, he divided, at the counsel of Jethro his father-in-law, this office and burden between many, and ordained under him justices, judges, and other like officers to hear matters of controversy, as it is registered, Exod. xviii.

An objection. But you will say: They were Moses' disciples, and under the law, which brought nought to perfection. We be christian, we be under grace, under the new testament; and our righteousness must much excel and surmount theirs.

The answer. In the time of the old testament, before Christ's incarnation, such as in all their ceremonies had an eye to the Seed promised, and believed in Christ to come, were of the new testament, under grace, and Christians; as the famous and elder father St Austin[1] declareth in his third book which he writeth to Boniface against two letters of the Pelagians. And such, again, as at these days do not believe, but live after the flesh, are yet under the old testament, under the law, under the stroke of the axe, which is put to the root of all evil trees. For both testaments were effectual from the beginning of the world;

S. Austin. lib. iii. contra duas literas Pelagianorum.

[1 Sive igitur Abraham, sive ante illum justi, sive post eum usque ad ipsum Moysen, per quem datum est testamentum a monte Sina in servitutem generans, sive ceteri prophetæ post eum et sancti homines Dei usque ad Joannem Baptistam, filii sunt promissionis et gratiæ secundum Isaac filium liberæ, non ex lege, sed ex promissione, hæredes Dei, cohæredes autem Christi. Absit enim ut Noe justum et prioris temporis justos, et quicunque ab illo usque ad Abraham justi esse potuerunt, vel conspicui vel occulti, negemus ad supernam Hierusalem, quæ mater nostra est, pertinere, quamvis anteriores tempore inveniantur esse quam Sara, quæ ipsius liberæ matris prophetiam figuramque gestat. Quanto evidentius ergo post Abraham, cui sic declarata est ipsa promissio, ut pater multarum gentium diceretur, quicunque Deo placuerunt filii promissionis habendi sunt! Non enim ex Abraham et deinceps justorum generatio verior, sed prophetia manifestior reperitur. Ad testamentum autem vetus, quod est a monte Sina in servitute generans, quod est Agar, illi pertinent, qui cum acceperint legem sanctam et justam et bonam, putant sibi ad vitam literam posse sufficere: et ideo qua fiant factores legis, divinam misericordiam non requirunt; sed ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam justitiam volentes constituere, justitiæ Dei non sunt subjecti. Ex hoc genere fuit illa multitudo, quæ adversus Deum in eremo murmuravit, et idolum fecit, et illa quæ jam in ipsa terra promissionis fornicata est post deos alienos. Sed hæc in ipso quoque vetere testamento valde reprobata est multitudo. Augustin. ad Bonifacium cont. duas epist. Pelag. lib. III. Opera, x. 451. Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

the one in virtuous and godly men, the other upon the unvirtuous and ungodly. Christ hath delivered such as believe from the curse of the law and from the terror of damnation, but the law is not disanulled yet in evil doers. Now, if suits were lawful to the old Christians, why are they unlawful to us? Also, after Christ's incarnation Paul, reproving the Corinthians for suing one another in the courts of unbelieving judges, exhorteth them to determine and try their suits and matters under christian judges; inducing them hereunto with two strong arguments, 1 Cor. vi. His first argument is, that seeing saints shall judge the world in eternal things, ergo they may lawfully determine and discuss worldly matters of less weight. His second argument is, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels? How much more may we judge things that pertain to the life!" What can be more plainly spoken? What stronger proof can be desired, that it is lawful for a christian man to sue a just and rightful title?

The Corinthians.

1 Cor. vi.

But it followeth in the aforesaid chapter: *Omnino delictum in vobis est, quod judicia habetis inter vos;* "It is truly," saith Paul, "a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another." Of these words some do gather, that christian men may not go to law; and that Paul did not allow but suffer suits, to withdraw the Corinthians from contentions under unbelievers. That Paul is so to be understood, they allege St Austin[2]; who in his book named

An objection.

S. Austin. ad Laurent. ca. 78.

[2 Quæ sint autem levia et quæ gravia peccata, non humano, sed divino sunt pensanda judicio. Videmus enim quædam ab ipsis quoque apostolis ignoscendo fuisse concessa: quale illud est quod venerabilis Paulus conjugibus ait: "Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi; et iterum ad idipsum estote, ne vos tentet satanas propter incontinentiam vestram:" quod putari posset non esse peccatum, misceri scilicet conjugi non filiorum procreandorum causa, quod bonum est nuptiale, sed carnalis etiam voluptatis; ut fornicationis, sive adulterii, sive cujusquam alterius immunditiæ mortiferum malum, quod turpe est etiam dicere, quo potest tentante satana libido pertrahere, incontinentium devitet infirmitas. Posset ergo, ut dixi, hoc putari non esse peccatum, nisi addidisset: "Hoc autem dico secundum veniam, non secundum imperium." Quis autem jam esse peccatum neget, cum dari veniam facientibus apostolica autoritate fateatur? Tale quiddam est ubi dicit: "Audet quisquam vestrum adversus alterum negotium habens judicari apud iniquos, et non apud sanctos?" Et paulo post: "Secularia igitur judicia si habueritis," inquit, "eos qui

Enchiridion ad Laurentium, cap. 78, seemeth to affirm, that a husband to lie with his own wife for avoidance of fornication, and to sue his brother for his own right, are two venial sins. If it be a venial sin for a man to claim and sue for his right by the law, Paul doth evil, bidding them sue under christian judges, to withdraw them from heathen judges. He speaketh against his own doctrine, which he taught the Romans, that they are rightly damned which say, *Faciamus mala, ut inde veniant bona*, "Let us do evil, that good may come thereof." For if we may not do evil that good may come thereof, much less one evil is to be done for avoidance of another evil, either great or small. Only good things are to be done for eschewing of evil. If we allow this interpretation, that Paul suffereth or alloweth less evils and venial sin for avoidance of greater evils, stews may be maintained with this argument, as they were long in England, and are yet in other regions. Paul's words have another meaning. The fault which he affirmeth to be in suits, must be referred to one party, not to the plaintiff and defendant both. Forasmuch as in lawing and suits there be two parties, the plaintiff and the defendant, which sue one against another, one party must needs sue a wrong title. For this cause Paul saith, that it is a fault to go to law. And to such as sue wrong titles, not to those that be oppressed wrongfully, the words following do appertain: "Why rather suffer ye not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not yourselves to be robbed?"—that is to say: It is better to suffer wrong, than to oppress men in the law. That these words are spoken to unjust and contentious suitors, and do not disprove rightful suits, appeareth of the words immediately following: "Nay," saith Paul, "ye yourselves do wrong and rob, and that the brethren;" which sentence cannot be referred to such as sue

The answer.

contemptibiles sunt in ecclesia, hos collocate. Ad reverentiam vobis dico: sic non est inter vos quisquam sapiens qui possit inter fratrem suum judicare? sed frater cum fratre judicatur, et hoc apud infideles." Nam et hic posset putari judicium habere adversus alterum non esse peccatum, sed tantummodo id extra ecclesiam velle judicari, nisi secutus adjungeret, "Jam quidem omnino delictum est quia judicia habetis vobiscum." Augustin. Enchiridion ad Laurent. cap. 78. Opera, VI. 226. Paris. 1679—1700.]

their own right, but reproveth unjust suitors, bribers, and oppressors. I think this is Paul's doctrine; and that his meaning is nothing less than that to use the benefit of the law, and the help of magistrates, is a light and venial sin, as some do misconstrue his words. For if this be venial sin, he sinned venially when he pleaded his own cause before judge Felix, an infidel, and defended himself against the false accusation and surmises of the orator Tertullus. He sinned venially when, being beaten with thongs, he claimed of captain Lysias the privilege of his freedom at Rome. He sinned when he appealed to Cæsar's judgment-seat from the partial sentence of Festus Portius, who needs would have had him to have consented to be judged by his enemies. Of these it is evident, that both by Paul's example and doctrine a christian man may lawfully sue for his right before an officer. For God commandeth officers by the mouth of his prophet, Ps. lxxxii., to restore the oppressed to their right, saying: *Judicate egeno et pupillo, &c.*, that is, "Help in judgment the poor and fatherless; see that such as be in need and necessity have right; defend the outcast and poor, and from the hand of the ungodly deliver him:" which commandment should not have been given, if this function were unlawful. St Austin[1], Epist. 48, which he writeth to one

Acts xxiv.

Acts xxii.

Acts xxv.

Psal. lxxxii.

S. Austin. Epist. 48.

[1] Item si semper esset culpabile persecutionem facere, non scriptum esset in sanctis libris, "Detrahentem proximo suo occulte, hunc persequebar." Aliquando ergo et qui eam patitur injustus est, et qui eam facit justus est. Sed plane semper et mali persecuti sunt bonos, et boni persecuti sunt malos: illi nocendo per injustitiam, illi consulendo per disciplinam: illi immaniter, illi temperanter: illi servientes cupiditati, illi caritati. Nam qui trucidat, non considerat quemadmodum laniet; qui autem curat, considerat quemadmodum secet: ille enim persequitur sanitatem, ille putredinem. Occiderunt impii prophetas, occiderunt impios et prophetæ. Flagellaverunt Judæi Christum, Judæos flagellavit et Christus. Traditi sunt apostoli ab hominibus potestati humanæ; tradiderunt et apostoli homines potestati satanæ. In his omnibus quid attenditur, nisi quis eorum pro veritate, quis pro iniqūitate, quis nocendi causa, quis emendandi? Non invenitur exemplum in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, aliquid petitum a regibus terræ pro ecclesia contra inimicos ecclesiæ. Quis negat non inveniri? Sed nondum implebatur illa prophetia: "Et nunc reges intelligite, erudimini qui judicatis terram; servite Domino in timore." Adhuc enim illud implebatur, quod in eodem psalmo paulo superius dicitur: "Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi

Vincentius, a Rogatist, *de vi corrigendis hæreticis*, 'How heretics are to be corrected by violence,' teacheth this office to be godly, and a performance of that precept which God giveth to judges by the mouth of the king David, saying, "Ye judges of the earth, serve the Lord with fear." Yea, Christ himself, whose image we must bear, when one of Caiaphas' servants smote him on the face for answering his master stoutly, said unto his striker, "If I have evil spoken," *testimonium perhibe de malo*, "bear witness of the evil;" that is, accuse me, and lay it to my charge before a judge, and do not thou judge and strike me. In which words, as he forbiddeth private vengeance, so he giveth authority to officers to punish evil speakers, according to the law; or at their discretions, if there be no law against such in their religion.

Psal. ii.

John xviii.

"But he," saith the anabaptist, "would be no punisher, no judge, no officer, but a sufferer, and we must be like to him; which we cannot, if we sustain any temporal office." I answer, David was a punisher of ill doers, he was a king, he was a judge of Israel; and yet he was so like to Christ in sufferance, and so fashioned after his image, that he was a type and a figure of him: wherefore, though Christ would not exercise or usurp in earth any civil authority, either against offendors, or to discuss suits, his example doth not make this necessary office and function unlawful to others, forasmuch as he was sent into this world for other causes. He saith to him that complaineth of his brother, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?"—as if he had answered, 'I am a preacher, and no civil magistrate. If thou wilt not sustain wrong, go to the magistrates, which be judge of such matters. I have nothing to do with the hearing of suits; it is their office and function. My function is spiritual, and concerning the soul; that is, to sanctify my elect, to instruct and preach, and to redeem them with the effusion of mine own blood.' This is the effect of Christ's words. He doth not disallow civil government, nor forbid the young man to sue his own brother; but sheweth a difference of temporal and

Luke xii.

meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus." Augustin. Epist. 48 ad Vincent. Opera, II. 230, Edit. Paris. 1679—1700.]

spiritual regimen, and admonisheth every spiritual man to apply and follow his own vocation, and not to meddle with temporal jurisdiction. For he saith unto them: *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos;* "As my Father sent me, so I do send you." John xx.

I have declared, by the example of the old Christians, of the Corinthians, of Paul, and by divers plain texts, that a christian man may, with an upright conscience, sue for his right before a christian officer. Yet methink I hear some reply against me thus: "God forbiddeth me to go to law, for he saith unto us by Christ, 'If any man will go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak thereto; and to him that striketh thee on the right cheek, turn thy left.' Christ commandeth me here not to resist, not to strive; but to suffer wrong by the law, to suffer both my coat and cloak to be taken from me." What shall we say hereunto? The law doth no man wrong. No law can take away thy coat from thee, nor thy cloak; for it is ordained to forbid wrong. Therefore Christ meaneth, that where the law is unjustly ministered, and the governors, officers, and judges be corrupt, do take bribes and be partial, there be patient and ready to suffer ever as much more, whatsoever unright be done thee, rather than through anger and impatience thou shouldest privately avenge thyself upon thy neighbour, or make insurrection against the magistrates for pronouncing wrong judgment. He forbiddeth here, not to go to law under godly magistrates, but rebellion, anger, private vengeance, insurrections and conspiracies against evil magistrates, which absolve the guilty for bribes or favour, and condemn innocents; whose damnation sleepeth not. It is but expense and folly to go to law under such. Notwithstanding, we must suffer them, like martyrs, as David did Saul, and not conspire with rebels. Though they be evil, they be God's lieutenants to their own damnation, and he that resisteth them resisteth God's ordinance; he that slayeth them slayeth the Lord's anointed. Rom. xiii.

But albeit we may sue out forfeits, albeit we may sue for our right before God's magistrates and vicegerents, yet we may not hate those which we do sue, we may not rail on them, we may not persecute them, as the most part How suitors must be affected each to other.

of suitors do. For we are commanded to love our enemies and oppressors, to speak well of them, that is, to pray for their amendment and reformation. Suits be lawful, if they be lawfully used; but both the plaintiff and party defendant must remember that they be christian men, that they be brethren, and worshippers of one God. The defendant's office is, when he is summoned or cited, to appear at his day; to make answer for himself with soberness, as Paul did, Acts xxiv., xxv.; to defend himself without anger and wrath, without bitterness, without any malicious or railing words; and if he have oppressed his brother, either in his body or in his goods, to make him recompence, and not stubbornly to maintain an ill quarrel by suit in the law any longer, in hope to prevail by bribery or friendship, or to make the plaintiff weary and to surcease his suit for lack of riches and ability to maintain his quarrel. The plaintiff's office is, flying for help to the magistrates, quietly without fearness to declare wherein he hath been oppressed, wherein he hath sustained wrong and injury, and to require nothing but justice, equity, and right; putting away all malice, hatred, envy, and being ready rather to lose his right, than to break charity, or to transgress the office of a christian man. Thus suitors should use themselves. If their minds be inflamed with anger, corrupt with envy, and poisoned with malice, though they have a very just and right quarrel, yet the suit thereof is unlawful and ungodly, because it proceedeth of malice and of an ungodly mind. But forasmuch as men be prone to these aforesaid vices, and malice increaseth daily by delays, and long continuance of suits through the covetousness of lawyers; would God the king's majesty, by the assent of his parliament, would make some statute, that all suits should be determined and judged within the compass of a year, or of half a year, if their value were under a hundred pound, upon pain of some great forfeiture to the judges before whom such matters come!

The defendant's office.

The plaintiff's office.

It followeth in the text: "Christ bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being delivered from sin, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes we are healed." Here I might disclose unto you, good people, why God sent his Son to bear your sins, why no other way would satisfy God's wrath, why he died on the tree and cross, and

why he tarried so long, and came not straight after Adam's fall, but many years afterward. These be fruitful and necessary matters, and agreeable to the text; but because they be long, and I have discussed them in my "Image," otherwise named "The Layman's Book," I will not meddle with them now.

The cause of Christ's coming.

We are taught here the cause, the end, and purpose of Christ's coming, and how many shall be benefitted and holpen thereby. He hath delivered us from the law which accuseth us, so that now we be under grace; not discharging us from obedience and observation of the law, not setting us at liberty to do evil, as some do say, "Let us sin; Christ is our righteousness; he hath fulfilled the law for us; set all thy sins on Christ's score; he hath suffered for them; he will pay thy ransom:" but he hath delivered us by his stripes and cross from the curse, damnation and sentence of the law, unto this end, that we should walk hereafter worthy of his kindness and benefits. "He hath 1 Thess. iv. called us," saith Paul, "not unto uncleanness, but unto holiness; and that we should deny ungodliness and worldly Tit. ii. lusts, and live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world." We have put our hands to the plough; we have promised to work in the Lord's vineyard; we are escaped out of stinking Sodom: we may not, therefore, look backward again and return to Sodom; for Christ is only their deliverer which forsake Sodom and labour in the vineyard of righteousness. Which if thou doest, let this be a certificate to thy conscience, that he hath borne thy sins on the tree, and delivered thee from the law, from sin, from condemnation; or else, not.

We must bear the sins of others, as Christ bore ours.

As he did bear our sins on the cross, so we must bear the sins of our enemies, oppressors, and slanderers. We must love all men, and pray for them, as he did. If we will be forgiven we must forgive, and not threaten nor revile. Wilt thou not bear the sins of others? Then truly Christ hath not borne thine, as appeareth in the parable of the debtors, Matth. xviii., in which the first debtor, think- Matt. xviii. ing that he had obtained everlasting pardon of God, because he would not forgive his fellow, perceived and found that he was not forgiven indeed, but that he only had conceived a vain and untrue persuasion through the presumption of

his own head. If therefore thou desire to know in what case thou standest with God, let thy bearing and thy doings to thy enemies be a token and certificate to thy conscience, that Christ hath borne and blotted out thy sins, and that thou art healed throughly by his stripes. Nothing shall make more for us at the general sessions of the last day, when we shall all be arraigned at the bar in the presence of the divine majesty; nothing is more lovely, more commendable, more precious in God's sight, than love of enemies. If thou hast holpen and refreshed them, then they shall be thy patrons, thy advocates, thy intercessors, thy helpers, and thy defence. And by doing well to thine enemies thou shalt get also more love, more favour, and friendship, and credit with men. For seeing thy humanity and good-will toward them, they will desire to be thy friends and lovers, in hope of further humanity toward them for their favour and love.

Taunts and threats are to be borne.

But the natures of men and women be very diverse and different in bearing. Some can bear wrongs and injuries, but they cannot brook evil works [words]. If they be reviled, they will scold again. They will give mock for mock, taunt for taunt, and threat for threat. Well; Christ taunted not again, mocked not, ne threatened, but suffered evil words with patience, to give an example to all Christians which bear his name. And he was taunted untruly, unjustly, and falsely. Thou art pinched and nipped by the shins for thy misdoings, and yet thou swellest with anger, and layest up poison in thy heart to thine own destruction, and dost threat and taunt again. What dost thou but bewray thyself to be guilty, and prove thy enemy to say true? Then why dost thou threaten him for saying the truth? Rather amend thy misbehaviour, and so prove him a liar, and give no occasion to evil tongues. If thou be an oppressor, a drunkard, a swearer, a flatterer, a man-pleaser, thou killest two souls; for thou dost not only slay thine own soul, but thy neighbour's also, in that thou dost not thy ways amend[1], thou whettest his tongue against thee, and makest him a continual taunter. For it is written, *Maledici regnum Dei non possidebunt;* "Taunters shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven." Except many were guilty,

[1] In that thou *dastray* wayes amend, in MS.]

there would not be so many taunters, so many revilers and railers, whose mouths will never be stopped but by amendment of evil. And the multitude of railers is an evident proof and argument, that men were never so corrupt and so abominable as they be now in these days. Art thou taunted untruly, and belied? Then rejoice and be glad; for so Christ biddeth thee, saying, Luke vi., *Cum exprobraverint, &c.;* "When they upbraid you,"[1] saith Christ, Luke vi. "and report ill of you, and lie, rejoice and be glad; for your reward in heaven is great." And in another place: *Gaudete et exsultate, cum ejecerint vos nomen malum mentientes*[2].

If thou be truly miscalled and reviled, say not, 'The fox is best at ease when men curse him, for then he hath gotten somewhat;' but groan and be sorry for thy misdoings and misbehaviour; have patience and make restitution to them which thou hast hurt and wronged; and then thou shalt have no less reward, than those that be slandered and misreported, as appeareth in many examples in holy scripture. The Pharisee, Luke xviii., was a giver of Luke xviii. The Pharisee. alms to the poor, fasted oftentimes, was no extortioner, no caterpillar, no poller of the people. The publican was an Publican. oppressor, a grievous enemy to the poor, no faster, no almsdealer, and enriched only with extortion and bribery. These two go to the church at one time to pray. The Pharisee standeth, and saith: "I thank thee, O Lord, that I am not like unto other men, which be oppressors and extortioners, nor like unto this publican." The publican, standing far[3] off, doth not revile, not taunt again with any such words as these, which now be in every scold's mouth: 'Sir knave, I will be even with thee, I will set thee forth in thy colours; meddle of thine own knavery, and let me alone; I will deface and discredit thee, wheresoever I come.' He spake no such revenging and railing words; but sighed, and groaned, and struck his breast, saying, *Deus propitius, &c.* "O God, be merciful unto me a sinner." And the scrip-

[2 The following is probably the passage which Hutchinson had in his mind, and the effect of which he has given: "Cum...dixerint omne malum adversum vos mentientes...gaudete et exsultate." Matt. vi. 11, 12.]

[3 *Not far of,* in MS.]

ture telleth, that he was justified, accepted into God's favour, and more regarded of God than the Pharisee; and that his sins were forgiven him, because he railed not again, because he reviled not, but took it patiently. Mary Maudlyn also, that is mentioned Luke vii[1]., which wiped Christ's feet with her hair, when Christ said to Simon a Jew, "Publicans and harlots shall overgo you in the kingdom of heaven;" and when she heard the same Simon revile and infame her, saying, "If he knew that this woman were a strumpet, he would not suffer her to wash his feet;" nevertheless she railed not again, but held her peace, and therefore the scripture recordeth, that many sins were forgiven her. David, being a king, bare the taunts of his servant Semei, and of Michol, Saul's daughter. Michael, the archangel, when he strove against the devil, and disputed about the body of Moses, durst not give him one railing word, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee." Much more we should beware of railing of our brethren.

Mary Magdalene. Luke vii.

David.

Shimei. Michael. Satan.

Jude i.

Cease off from detraction and railing, and occupy your tongues in reading God's word, and in instructing your households and families, and in confessing your own faults and misdoings. And you that be depraved and slandered, bear words and taunts patiently, as Christ bare stripes for you. He was buffeted and scourged for thy sins, and dost thou grudge to suffer for thyself? Thou art belied and slandered; God hath visited thee with poverty; he hath touched thy body with sickness. Aye. Thou art barren. Aye. Thou art lame; thou art blind. Aye. Thou hast sore eyes, or lame hand. Aye. Tell me, hast thou deserved these things, or not? Aye. Then see thou have patience; for they that suffer undeserved, are commanded to be patient. Thy adversity, thy smarts, whatsoever thou art, be nothing comparable with Lazarus' smarts. He was hunger-pined, pained with cold, covered with sores, punished ten times more than thou; and the rich man lived in all ease and wealth by him; and yet he railed not, he murmured not, he repined not, neither complained with any such words as these: 'I have not greatly sinned against God, and yet I am in hunger, frozen for cold, and tormented with sickness; but this evil man liveth in wealth, pleasure, ease, and health. How can

Lazarus. Luke xvi.

[1 Matt. xxxi. in MS.]

it be, that God is mindful of us? How is he righteous in judgment?' He uttered no such kind of words, but took it patiently, and thought himself worthy of God's rod. Wherefore he was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom, and the rich man was condemned to hell-torments. Thou art not yet punished like Job, a just and a perfect man. Job. What hast thou suffered like unto him? Hast thou lost one of thine eyes? He lost both, and so did Toby the Toby. righteous. Thou art poor, but not so poor as he; and his poverty began after great plenty and riches, which poverty is most grievous. Is thy son dead? thy wife? or thy brother? Job lost ten sons, and all at one time, and that after they were of age, and richly married: and yet no adversity could make him permoil, steal, despair, blaspheme, or to forget his duty to God his Maker.

God's righteousness plagueth us with adversity, to put us in remembrance of our sins, and to cause us to return to him; and because, as it followeth in the text, "We were as sheep going astray, but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls." Thou murmuring and grudging man, thou envious woman, thou hast not yet felt the hundredth part of the trouble that thy Saviour and high Shepherd felt. He was falsely accused, scourged, mocked, unrighteously condemned, crowned with thorns, buffeted, and cruelly murdered. He suffered all these things for thee, for thy sins, for thy unthankfulness and rebellion; and wilt not thou suffer for thyself? Let us not be straying sheep, but follow the example of our high Shepherd and of the Bishop of our souls. And as he was tried, and made perfect, and entered into glory, through affliction; so, as many as be Christians, disdain not to bear Christ's image and to walk the same way.

What evils come of anger and impatience.

By this means our trouble shall be less painful and less grievous unto us, if we shall accept it with patience and gladness for his sake; but that you may know better the commodities of patience and her reward, behold the contrary vice. Consider with me what a cart load of evils impatience, anger, and envy brought into the world. Satan, Satan. the devil, through impatience and anger, grudging that Adam was made after the similitude and image of God, Adam. lost both himself and man. Adam and Eve, impatient, Eve.

and not content with that diet, fare, and commons, that God allowed them, were expelled out of paradise. Cain, by impatience that Abel's sacrifice was more regarded than his, committed the first manslaughter, and in his anger slew his own brother. Esau, impatient of hunger, sold his father's blessing, his eldership, and the title of his inheritance, to his brother Jacob, for a mess of pottage. What was the cause that the Jews rebelled first against God, and bowed themselves to a golden calf, but envy and lack of patience? Because they envied Moses, and were grieved and angry with him for his long tarrying and absence in mount Oreb with God, they made a calf, and honoured it with divine service, with psalms, with instruments, with sacrifice, and praise.

Cain. Murder.

Esau. Unthriftness.

The Jews. Idolatry.

I fear me lest many thousands in England do commit both like idolatry, and also the idolatry of covetousness in withholding their tithes for the absence of their Moses, that is, of their pastors from their benefices. Moses was absent but few days, and his flock almost perished; but our Moseses absent themselves many years. Neither do they spend the time of their absence as Moses did, who communed with God of such matters as might edify and profit his flock; then they were to be borne withal: but they consume the time in banqueting, in flattery, and prowling for mo promotions. Some of them be surveyors to bishops, and other, temporal lords; other some be their stewards, providers, buyers of beves and muttons, and other necessaries for housekeeping; and some be receivers of their rents and revenues, to the condemnation both of themselves and of their lords and masters, which are guilty of their negligence and absence; and the souls of those that perish for lack of instruction shall be required, as well of such lords, either spiritual or temporal, as of the pastors. God send an amendment hereof by some good statute, and of other things likewise, which I have reproved out of God's sacred and holy word! The office of Christ, our Bishop and high Shepherd, and of his ministers, is spiritual, and not to survey woods and lands, to keep courts, nor to receive rents, as is declared before.

Covetousness.

Thus you see that impatience causeth idolatry, causeth murder, brought in rebellion and unthriftness, expelled from

heaven, and banished out of paradise; which things are registered for our erudition, to teach us sufferance, and to beware of anger, of fierceness, of envy, which be the works of the flesh. Patience garnisheth us with all flowers of virtue, and openeth heaven's gates again. For "God hath set at the entering of paradise cherubim with a fiery sword, moving in and out, to keep the way to the tree of life;" and no man, neither spiritual nor lay, can have any access thither, but he must first be stricken and wounded with that fiery sword, which is affliction and trouble. Blessed are they that are wounded with this sword, and buffeted for their offences in this life, and do take it patiently and thankfully: they are sure to be heirs of the other life, of eternal rest and joys, which God hath prepared for as many as will bear Christ's image, and follow the example of their high Bishop; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory. Amen. So be it.

Gen. iii.

Cherubim's fiery sword, what it is.

THE PRAYER.

O heavenly Father, who of thy clemency didst send thy Son to be our high Bishop, and to become woman's Seed; not only to be our Redeemer and Peacemaker, but also to be unto us a pattern and mirror of all virtue and godly behaviour; and hast called all men and women to live in affliction and labour, hereby to force them to despise temporal things, and to groan and sigh for things eternal: hear our prayers and supplications, and so order our ways and steps by the governance of thy holy Spirit, that we may conform our lives after the example of thy Son, and learn all virtue by the contemplation of his life. And as no guile or deceit, no slander or threat, proceeded out of his mouth, but consolation and doctrine, so defend us, thy servants, from the said vices; teach us patience and sufferance, in right and in wrong, through the memory of our

sins, by the ensamples of holy men, and with a meditation of those evils which impatience has caused from the beginning of the world, and doth cause daily and hourly. Grant these our requests, O merciful God, for the merits and innocency of Christ, our high Shepherd; who with thee and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth, in one glory, and equal majesty, world without end.

So be it.

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C.

Cast; to object.
—— to "cast in the teeth;" to upbraid.
Caterpiller; a pillager or destroyer.
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Civil; civilized.
Clean, 'a clean other way;' altogether another way.
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Clerk; a scholar.
Cloked; dissembling, hypocritical.
Close; concealed.
Cocket; a certificate that goods had paid duty, granted by the Custom-House authorities to merchants to enable them either to export or import. The word was probably a corruption of some terms used in the document when it was couched in Latin: "Quo quietus decessit." Vide Jacob's Law Dictionary and Todd's Johnson.
Cocodrile; crocodile.
Cœlius, C. 81.
Colligeners; collegians.
Commen; come.
Commodity; advantage.
Commons; unenclosed grounds, the common people, common fare.
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Compost; composed, composite, compounded.
Concitation; a motion, an impulse.
Control; to reprove, or check. A controller was originally an officer who *checked* an accountant, by means of a counter, or *contra*, roll.
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D.

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Decay; to cause to fail, to depreciate.
Deface; to defame.
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Denay; denial, in which sense it is used by Shakspere and other poets.
Depart; to divide, separate.
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Discuss; to shake apart, examine, or dissipate.
Dishonest; to dishonour, or discredit.
Dissolve; to resolve.
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Eftsoons; afterwards.
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Entend; to design or purpose.
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Estate, "your estate," with some explanatory adjective interposed between the two words, as "your royal estate," or as in the instance, p. 3, "your gracious estate," was a kind of title of courtesy used in addresses to persons of exalted rank.
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Expulsed; driven out.

F.

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Ferm; to let to farm, that is, to let at a certain ferm, firm, or rent.
Figurally; figuratively.
Finition; limitation.
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Flacker; to flicker, or flutter like a bird.
Flawe; a gust of wind.
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Forfeits; forfeitures, penalties.
Forstaller; one who buys up goods on their way to a market to enhance the market-price.
Fortify; to prove, or defend, by argument.
Found; provided for.
Foxe, John, 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum' published by, 6; his mistake respecting Abp. Cranmer's urging Edward VI. to sign the death-warrant of Joan Bocher, v.
Frederick Barbarossa, proof that in his time the laity received the cup, 283.
Frump; to mock, or insult.
Fulfil; to fill full, to occupy entirely.

G.

Gambling, prevalence of, 7.
Gelasius, pope, proof that in his time the laity received the cup, 282.
Glosses; explanations of obscure words, especially applied to the romanist annotations upon the scriptures and the papal decretals.
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Good cheap; reasonably cheap. "Behold, victuals shall be good cheap upon the earth." 2 Esdras, xvi. 21.

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Groundly; thoroughly.

Gull; to swallow. "Under the colour of wine it gulled in poison." Bale's Pageant, fo. 76.

H.

Hand-fasted; betrothed.

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Hove; to heave, rise, or raise up.

Humaniformians, vide Anthropomorphites.

Hutch; a chest.

Hutchinson, Agnes, viii, x; Anne, ib.; Elizabeth, ib.; John, i, x; Roger, time and place of his birth unknown, i; educated at St John's College, Cambridge, i; engaged with Thomas Lever in a disputation respecting the mass, ii; one of the learned men who endeavoured to convert Joan Bocher, ii, iii; publishes his Image of God, v, vi; copy of his sermons on the Lord's supper given to Day before the death of Edward VI., vii; MS. sermons now first published, where preserved, vii; sends to Day when in prison, viii; time of his death, viii; his family, ib.; possessed leases granted by Bishop Ridley, ib.; his character by Ascham, ix; his will, x; Thomas, viii, x; William, i, 128.

I.

Idolatrer; idolater.

Ignatius, 38.

Image, it is a dishonour to the divine nature to make any similitude thereof, 12.

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Impassible; incapable of suffering.

Impossible, sometimes used in scripture for what is very hard to come to pass, 112.

Improve; to disprove.

Infame; to defame.

Insensible; not palpable to the senses.

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K.

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Kindly; of or belonging to kindred.
Kings, an exhortation to, 71.
King's Book, the, several books so termed, 231.
King's-price; the price fixed in the king's proclamations for regulating the amount to be paid for provisions.

L.

Law, it is lawful for a Christian to go to law in a just cause, 323.
Leasings; lies.
Lever, Thomas, i, ii, iii, 146.
Libertines, 201; their opinions, 79; deny spirits to be substances, 134.
Lighten; to enlighten.
Lights; the lungs.
Lively; living.
Logic, its usefulness, 28.
Love, its powerful effects, 104.
Luke, St, prayed to for the ox, 171.
Lumbrikes; worms.
Lusty; healthful.
Lying is forbidden under any circumstances, 51; instances of lies alleged to be lawful, ib.; answered, 52.
Lyranus, Nicholas, 284.

M.

Malachi, the clean sacrifice of, expounded, 47.
Man, how made in the image of God, 24.
Manhead; manhood.
Manichees, the, contended that man was made of the substance of God, 24; refuted, ib.; taught that there were two contrary first principles, 171; refuted, ib.
Marius, C., 73, 75.
Mary; marrow.
Mary, the Virgin, prayed to for women with child, 172.
Mary, St, Hospital of, 5.
Mass, the, is not a sacrifice, 48.
Mated; confounded, crushed.
Maugre, "maugre the head of all enemies," notwithstanding the opposition of all enemies. "Some men make their cracks that they, *maugre all men's heads*, have found purgatory."—Latimer's Sermon before the Convocation. "He hath preserved it *maugre their hearts*."—Latimer's second Sermon before Edward VI.
Maundy; a feast, principally and originally a feast provided for the poor. The name was derived from Maund, a hand-basket, in which victuals were carried round for distribution.
Maximin, 113.
Melancthon, his exposition of 'borne upon the waters,' 65, 196; his opinion of sin after baptism, 117.
Meletius, 113.
Menandrians, give the glory of the creation to angels, 68.
Mingle-mangle; a mixture of heterogeneous matters. "I cannot tell what, partly popery, partly true religion, mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, 'come to thy mingle-mangle, cum pur, cum pur;' even so they made mingle-mangle of it."—Latimer's fourth Sermon before Edward VI.
Ministers, the scriptures allow but three orders, 50; popish orders enumerated, ib.; how they forgive sins, 96; 199.
Miss-woman, a lewd woman.
Mo; more.
Mole; a mass.
More, Avys, x.
Myllaine, Milan.
Myrrh, such as die are anointed with, 255.

N.

Namely; especially. "Yf ther be eny that provideth not for his awne, and *namly* for them of his own household." 1 Tim. v. 8. Tyndale's Trans. Bagster's Hexapla.
Nasica, 51.
Naughty; corrupt.
Ne; nor,
Nemroth; Nimrod.
Next; nearest.
Nicolitanes, the, deny God to be the maker of the world, 68; give the glory of the creation to angels, 68.
Nill; to be unwilling.
North, Sir Edward, *v.*
Nose-of-wax; a simile applied by Romanist writers at the time of the Reformation to the scriptures. They contended that the sacred writings might, like a nose of wax, be bent and turned in any way, and thus wrested to support any doctrine. In the note from Pighius at p. 34, it may be seen that he used this simile in the sense stated.
Novatians, the, deny that sin after baptism is pardonable, 113.
Noy; to annoy, to molest.

O.

Oaths, how abused at sessions and courts, 21.
Of; off, out of, from. "Were wont to live *of* their lands," p. 4.
On; in, "*on* the night."
Oppression, why God suffereth it to good men, 304.
Or; ere, before.
Origen, 6; says that sacramental bread enters into the belly, 40, 272.
Origenists contend that all men and devils shall at length be saved, 56; refuted, ib.
Osyth, St, prayed to for things lost, 171; why, 172, n.
Ought; owed.
Overgo; to go before.
Ovid, 176.

P.

Parker, Abp., sanctioned Foxe's publication of the 'Reformatio Legum Eccles.,' 6.
Parmenides, 176.
Passible; capable of suffering.
Passover, the, was a figure of our sacrament, 217.
Patched; made up of shreds.
Patience, necessary for all people, 295; its several kinds, 299, 320.
Patripassians, 207; their definition of a person, 121.
Paulians, 134, 162.
Paul of Samosata, argued that the Word was not a substance, 132.
Paul's-cross, 5.
Percase; perchance.
Permoil; to vex, or disquiet in mind.
Person, in the Godhead, what it signifies, 129; why this word used in reference to the Godhead, 130.
Persons, distinction of, in the Godhead proved from scripture, 121; manifested in Abraham's vision, 126; their unity proved by their having the same attributes, 183.
Person; parson. "A poor *persone* of a toun." Chaucer, Prolog. to Cant. Tales, 480.
Peter, no supremacy given to, 98; why named Cephas, 101; why Christ charged him thrice to feed his sheep, 102.
Peter, bishop of Alexandria, 113.
Phalaris, 73, 75.
Phillip, Mistress Anne, x.
Photinus, 121.
Pighius, Albertus, terms the scriptures a nose of wax, 34; his exposition of 'Lo, here is Christ,' ib; alleges the clean offering of Malachi in favour of the mass, 46; his exposition of the power of the keys, 99; and of Christ's prayer that Peter's faith might not fail, 106.
Pilkington, bishop, i.
Pill; to plunder.
Pisistratus, 73, 75.
Pix; the box in which the consecrated sacramental bread is kept by the Roman Catholics. It was usual, as alluded to in p. 253, to hang it up in the churches, over the altar, for

adoration. Vide Strype's Cranmer, book ii. cap. vi.
Plato, 176.
Pliny, Hist. Nat. 87.
Pliny the younger, his mention of the communion, 227.
Poller; a plunderer.
Polycletus, 127.
Preacher, qualifications necessary for, 103.
Preaching, lack of, 5; began to be renewed in England, 6; its importance, 201.
Pretensed; pretended.
Prick; a point, the bull's-eye or mark in the centre of the butts in archery.
Priest, the, cannot receive the sacrament for others, 229.
Priesthood, difference between the Jewish and Christian, 49, 50; popish, 50.
Priscillianists, the, contended that man was made of the substance of God, 24; refuted, ib.; thought it lawful to lie for a greater advantage, 51.
Private masses, origin of, 227.
Procles, 87.
Prosper says that evil men do not receive Christ's body, 265.
Protogenes, 127, 137.
Pseudo-christs, who they are, 33.
Pythagoras, his *ternarius numerus*, 123; his definition of God, 176.

Q.

Quick; living.
Quod; quoth.

R.

Record; to bear testimony.
Recount; to account, reckon, or estimate.
Regretor; one who buys up goods in order to enhance their price.
Regulus, 73.
Regulus, Marcus, 321.
Rehearse; to relate.
Report; to refer to, "I report me."
Repose; to put back again.
Reserve; to preserve, keep.
Resurrection, two sorts explained, 138.
Rich men need patience, 296; are God's almoners, 297.
Rickmansworth, i, viii, ix, 85.
Ridley, Bishop, iii, viii, ix.
Rock, upon which the church is built, 100.
Rock, St, prayed to for the pestilence, 171; origin of, ib. n.
Rogers, the martyr, viii.
Room; place, office.
Rovers, "at rovers," at random, wide of the mark, a term used in archery.
Ruffinus, 116.

S.

Sabellians, their definition of a person, 121.
Sacrament, is not a sacrifice, 49; defined, 236.
Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, how Christ present therein, 33; how his body is received therein, 35; three similitudes therein, 37, 238; its effects, 41; its receipt should be followed by thanksgiving, 43; necessary to be received, 44; received by all persons at Easter, 215; why ordained after eating the passover, 217; bishops of Rome would have the laity receive only annually, 220; why people absent themselves, ib.; it is best to receive it fasting, 221; but not ill to come after meat, 222; is not to be received privately, 227; nor by the priest for the people, 228; nor to be lifted up or honoured, 230, 252; best for the people to receive it in their hands, 230; to be received spiritually as well as sacramentally, 243; thanks to be given after receipt, 284.
Sacraments of the old testament, how inferior to ours, 41, 218, 250; not transubstantiated, 41; why disannulled, 218.
Sadducees, 136; deny spirits to be substances, 134.
Sadler, Sir Ralph, v.
Saints, praying to, how it arose, 116; praying to, is to bring in many gods, 171.
Samaria, 13.
Samatius, 87.

Sandys, Archbishop, i.
Saturnians, the, give the glory of the creation to angels, 68.
Scævola, L., 81.
Scaffold, "Set forth ... as it were in a scaffold," (p. 215) "do shew him as it were upon a scaffold," (pp. 219, 250). These are allusions to the old representations of religious dramas upon a scaffold or temporary stage erected for the purpose. Chaucer has, "He playeth Herod on a skaffold high." Miller's Tale, l. 3484.
Scipio, Africanus, saying of, 1.
Score; an account.
Scrat; to scratch.
Scriptures, the, the only touch-stone of doctrine, 14; objections of the papists and reply, ib., 15; termed by Pighius, 'a nose of wax,' 34; allow but three orders of ministers, 50; contain all things necessary unto salvation, 253.
Semblable; similar.
Seneca, advice of, 3.
Sensible; palpable to the senses.
Separeth; separateth.
Serle, —, viii, x.
Servetus, 121.
Shope; shaped.
Shrives; sheriffs.
Sibyls, 177.
Sichar, 13.
Sidney, Sir Henry, vii, 293.
Simonides, 12.
Sin after baptism, not unpardonable, 113.
Sincere; pure.
Sith; since.
Sithen; since.
Slanderer, who is a, 224.
Slops; the loose trowsers worn by mariners.
Socrates, a saying of, 254.
Soul, Christ's flesh the food of the, 242; not nourished with corporal food, ib.
Spital-sermons, where preached originally, 5.
Stars, arguments against their influence upon human actions, 77; star which appeared at Christ's birth, its use, 81; opinions respecting, 82.
Still; to distil.
Stoics, deny God's providence, 69; refuted, ib.
Stories; histories.
Stut; to stutter.
Substance, the word applied by St Paul to the Godhead, 130.
Suicide, lawfulness of, 85.
Suitors in law, how they should be affected towards each other, 331.
Supremity; supremacy.
Surcease; to give over.
Swearers, an exhortation to, 20.
Swing; to 'bear the swing,' to have an unchecked course.
Sydney, Sir Philip, 293; Sir W., ib.

T.

Table; a picture or other representation upon a tabular surface.
Tagasta, a town in Numidia, the birth-place of St Augustine, now Tajelt, 54.
Taunts and threats to be borne, 334.
Telamon, an opinion of, 73.
Temporality; the laity.
Tentation; temptation.
Terence, 140, 141, 149.
Tertullian, terms the sacrament the figure of Christ's body, 259; says that Christ represented his body with the creature bread, 272.
Testament, what it is, 246; both testaments are yet operative, 247.
Thales Milesius, 176.
Theodoret says that the natures of bread and wine are not changed in the sacrament, 274.
Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, 12.
Theophylact disallows a private receipt of the Lord's Supper, 229; alleged by the papists in favour of transubstantiation, 276; not of authority to stablish doctrine, 279; his words explained, ib.
'This is my body,' does not express a transubstantiation, 258.
Thomas of Ind; tradition has ascribed to St Thomas the Apostle, the foundation of various churches in India, whence the Title of "S. Thomas of Ind."
Title; a right.

Tot-quots. An abuse of *annates*, or first-fruits, by which, upon the promotion of an ecclesiastic he was called upon to pay to the papal treasury the first-fruits, not merely of his new preferment, but of all other livings which he happened to hold with it. In this manner *annates* were paid over and over again for the same living, and sometimes twice and thrice in one year.

Touch; 'to keep touch,' is to perform any engagement, promise, or threat, with certainty and exactness.

Town, "the commons of every town." Town is here used in the sense of tithing, or vill, a place having a church, with divine service, sacraments and burials.

Trajan, Pliny's letter to, 228.

Transubstantiation contradicts Christ's words at the institution of the sacrament, 267; and the command that Christ's body be not broken, ib.; arguments of the papists, 269, 270, 272, 275; replies thereto, 269, 270, 272, 276; testimonies of the Fathers against, 271; Irenæus, ib.; Tertullian, 272; Origen, ib.; Cyprian, ib.; Ambrose, 273; Theodoret, 274; Chrysostom, ib.

Travail; to labour.

Trinity, the workmanship of the three persons in baptism, 11, 200; in creation, 11, 62, 165; in providence, 11; in the incarnation of Christ, 165; in his miracles, 166; and resurrection, ib.; distinction of person, in, 121, 127; similitudes of, in Abraham's vision, 126, 160; in the sun, 160; in fire, 163; in man, 164.

Trinity College, Cambridge, 10.

Tripartite history, 12.

U.

Understanding, what it is, 1.

V.

Venetians, the, had no private masses, 228.

Verities, unwritten, what is meant by, 124.

Vestiments; vestments.

Vine, "I am the true vine," expounded, 36.

Virgil, 175, 176.

W.

Westminster Abbey, 10.

Whytehead, David, i, 146.

Willett, Thomas, x.

Williams, Lord, ix.

Winchester, Gardiner, bishop of, 96.

Windsor, 251.

Woe worth, "Woe be unto." This relic of the language of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers remained in common use down to the period of the Reformation. It is retained in the authorized translation of Ezekiel xxx. 2, and may be found in most of the writers of the colloquial English of the sixteenth century. In Latimer's Sermons it is of frequent occurrence.

Wood; wild, savage.

Wot; to know.

Wrax; to rack.

Wronge; wrung, distressed. The word occurs in this sense in Chaucer.

Z.

Zeno's servant, anecdote of, 78.

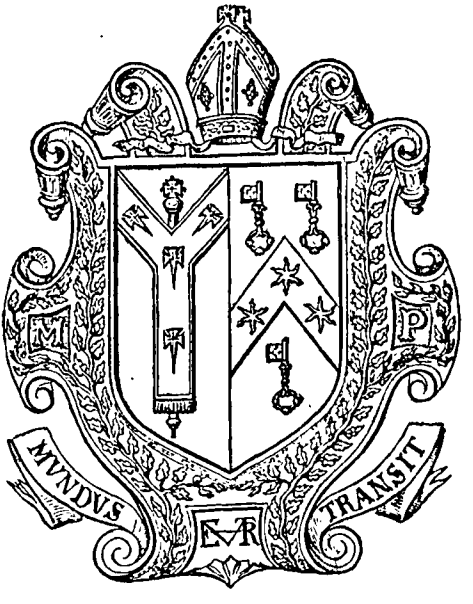
THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

[FOR THE YEAR 1841]

OF

THE PARKER SOCIETY,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED ENGLISH CHURCH.



INSTITUTED A.D. MDCCCXL.

PROCEEDINGS

AT A GENERAL MEETING OF

The Parker Society,

HELD AT THE

Freemason's Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London,

ON TUESDAY, THE 31ST OF MAY, 1842,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ASHLEY, M.P.,

IN THE CHAIR:

Collects suitable to the occasion having been read by the Rev. RICHARD BURGESS,

Lord ASHLEY opened the business of the Meeting by congratulating the the members upon the prospects of the Society, emphatically expressing his sense of its importance, and of the great value of the works proposed to be published.

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council; whereupon

IT WAS RESOLVED, on the motion of THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, That the Report now presented be received and adopted, and printed for the use of the members; and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their past services.

The SECRETARY then read the Report of the Auditors; whereupon

IT WAS RESOLVED, That the said Report be received, and printed for the information of the members; and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors for their services.

The CHAIRMAN, having directed the attention of the meeting to the Laws by which the proceedings of the Society had been hitherto regulated, and the alterations therein rendered necessary by the establishment of the Office of the Society, and the other changes consequent upon the great increase in the number of members, as stated in the Report, called upon the meeting to proceed to confirm the Laws of the Society, by acting upon them in the election of a President, Treasurer, Honorary Librarian, and Council for the year ensuing.

The SECRETARY having read the nominations of persons to be elected,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ASHLEY, M.P.,
was elected PRESIDENT.

SIR WALTER FARQUHAR, BART.,
was elected HONORARY TREASURER.

GEORGE STOKES, ESQ.,
was elected HONORARY LIBRARIAN.

THE REV. R. G. BAKER,
REV. C. BENSON, Master of the Temple,
REV. E. BICKERSTETH,
JOHN BRIDGES, ESQ.,
JOHN BRUCE, ESQ.,
REV. GUY BRYAN,
REV. RICHARD BURGESS,
REV. SAMUEL CARR,
HON. WILLIAM COWPER,
REV. W. H. Cox, Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford,
REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM,
REV. THOMAS DALE,
REV. DR. DEALTRY, Chancellor of Winchester,
REV. JOHN HARDING,
REV. EDWARD HOARE,
REV. T. H. HORNE, Canon of St. Paul's,
HON. ARTHUR KINNAIRD,
REV. DR. MORTIMER, Head Master of the City of London School,
HON. AND REV. B. W. NOEL,
HENRY POWNALL, ESQ.,
REV. JOSIAH PRATT, JUN.,
REV. M. M. PRESTON,
REV. JAMES SCHOLEFIELD, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and
REV. DANIEL WILSON,

were elected as the COUNCIL, with power to fill up all vacancies occurring during the year; and

THE REV. R. HANKINSON, and JOSEPH HOARE, ESQ.,
were elected as AUDITORS for the year ensuing.

Thanks were then voted to the Honorary Officers for the past year, and also to the Local Correspondents of the Society, and the other persons who had co-operated with the Council in promoting its objects.

The PRESIDENT having called the attention of the Meeting to the very great and peculiar services rendered to the Society by Mr. Stokes, not merely as its Founder, but also by his entire devotion of himself to its management and proceedings for upwards of a year and a half,

IT WAS RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Society, and of every one interested in the objects of the Parker Society, are most peculiarly and especially due to Mr. Stokes.

Thanks were then voted to the President for his able conduct in the chair, and the interest at all times shewn for the welfare of the Parker Society, of which he was one of the earliest members.

THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE PARKER SOCIETY,

Instituted A.D. 1840,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED ENGLISH CHURCH.

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING, 31ST MAY, 1840.

"He *(Archbishop Parker)* was a great collector of ancient and modern writings, and took especial care of the safe preservation of them for all succeeding times; as foreseeing undoubtedly what use might be made of them by posterity: that, by having recourse to such originals and precedents, the true knowledge of things might the better appear."

"As he was a great patron and promoter of good learning, so he took care of giving encouragement to printing—a great instrument of the increase thereof."

Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

THE Council of THE PARKER SOCIETY, in presenting to the Members of the Institution the First Annual Report, containing the whole information which they are able to give up to the present period, think it desirable to repeat some particulars of circumstances connected with the early proceedings, which have already been laid before many of the members.

The design of the Society was made publicly known in July, 1840; and a sufficient number of supporters having been obtained, the Society was formed, and the plan finally arranged on the 17th of November. The number of members increased with a rapidity unprecedented in the history of any similar enterprise; and the subscription for 1841 being closed immediately after the 28th of February, it was found that 4,173 copies had been subscribed for.

A number of supporters so far exceeding the expectations of the most sanguine promoters of the original scheme, brought with it difficulties and responsibilities which the Council had not anticipated. The business of the Society was rendered so extensive, that an office and an establishment appeared to be absolutely necessary. It was also important that the works should be printed and edited in such a manner as to render them worthy of the almost National support which the Society had received. The Council trust that what they have done in both these respects will be satisfactory to the members. The office in Southampton Street, Strand, is in a convenient and central situation. The establishment is not larger than is absolutely necessary, and the expense less than if agents had been employed. It was placed under the charge of Mr. Bruce, as Registrar.

The works published and in progress have the advantage of being printed at the Pitt Press of the University of Cambridge, and considerable Editorial

pains have been bestowed upon them. The printing was commenced as soon as possible after the close of the subscription list, but many subjects required so much deliberation that the early progress was less rapid than it would have been under other circumstances. It still, however, went forward with more expedition than is usual in the case of similar publications, and in December the Council had the pleasure of delivering two volumes, containing the Works of Bishop Ridley and Archbishop Sandys. Those of Bishop Pilkington and Roger Hutchinson have since been completed. The writings of three of these authors, important and valuable as they are, were never before printed in a *collected* form. The Council trust that the four volumes will be found faithful reprints from the best editions, and in some of them additional pieces are included which were never before printed. In the whole they contain nearly 2,200 pages.

The difficulties above noticed were to be expected in a new and untried undertaking, but they were increased by the circumstance of the Society being so promptly called into action; while in other efforts of a similar nature, the public having felt less interest at first, more time for preparation was obtained. These difficulties being surmounted, the regular progress will be more rapid; but the Council trust that the members will bear in mind that works of this description cannot be hurried through the press without injury to the subscribers themselves; and that illness, or other duties of Editors, with many unavoidable contingencies, will at times retard even that degree of advancement which may be fairly expected.

At the commencement of the proceedings the Council found it needful to request the aid of some of their own members in the Editorial department; but it is now arranged that no one acting as Editor will have a place in the Council. It appearing that the assistance of the Rev. John Ayre would be more valuable as one of the Editors, he has relinquished his office as Honorary Clerical Secretary.

The duties of Registrar were found to require more time and attention than Mr. Bruce had calculated on, especially under the continued increase of the Society; thus another arrangement of the office assigned to him became needful.

Mr. Stokes also desired to be released from the business which for more than a year and a half had occupied nearly his whole time—a sacrifice which could not be expected from an Honorary Secretary; and it was desirable that the whole of these details should be carried on in London.

Under these circumstances, the Council, after very full examination of the subject, recommend that the office of Secretary should not in future be an honorary office, but that it be held by individuals who will respectively be able to attend constantly to the onerous and responsible duties of their departments, at the places where the business of each is carried on. They, therefore, consider it desirable that, instead of a Registrar, there should be a Secretary for General Business, with an Assistant, in daily attendance at the office in London, while the office of Editorial Secretary will be best filled by a resident at Cambridge. Upon the members approving of this change a satisfactory arrangement can be made, Professor Scholefield having for some time fulfilled the duties of Editorial Secretary; while those of Secretary for General Business will be discharged by Mr. W. M. Thomas, whom the

Council appointed to superintend the office in London on the resignation of Mr. Bruce.

The Council have much satisfaction in reporting that the Society will not wholly lose the assistance of the three individuals on whom the business for 1841 rested: the Rev. John Ayre having engaged to render assistance as an Editor, Mr. Bruce continuing to act as one of the Council, and Mr. Stokes having consented to accept the office of Honorary Librarian, and to give a considerable portion of time to the concerns of the Society.

The Council have the satisfaction to state that the Right Honourable Lord Ashley, M.P., one of the earliest supporters of the Society, has kindly allowed himself to be nominated for President of the Institution. The Council fully anticipate a grateful acknowledgment by the members of his Lordship's attention to the Society, and of the interest he has taken in its proceedings, with the ready expression of their approval of the arrangements the Council now submit to their consideration.

The volumes of the Society have been presented by the Council to the following libraries:—the British Museum; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the University Library, Cambridge; the Library of His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

If any surplus copies should remain after the delivery of the books for the year is completed, the Council will proceed to consider further as to the practicability of supplying other libraries, agreeably to the eighth law; but it is obvious that no extended or efficient measures of that description can be carried out, unless funds are specially contributed for the purpose, to a larger amount than the donations already received, and which are stated in the Abstract of the Cash Account.

The attention of the Council has been directed to their future progress, both as to the support they might expect from the public, and the preparation of works for the press. In reference to the first, much regret was expressed by applicants that measures had not been taken last year to render the Society more fully known, and it was strongly recommended that additional advertisements and circulars should be sent forth. This has been done; and on closing the list for the present year, 1842, the Council were gratified to find that more than SIX THOUSAND subscriptions had been paid. A large proportion of the new members desired to procure the volumes for the first year, many of them urging that they would have become members at the commencement if they had been informed of the existence of the Society. Under these circumstances, which cannot again occur, the Council, after advising with many of its original supporters, have agreed to reprint the four volumes of 1841, as a sufficient number of members are willing to pay the cost, which must be more than for the larger number of the original edition. Nor is there any reason why all the expenses connected with this reprint, as well as a due proportion of those of the first year, should not be borne by the subscribers for the reprints; and upon calculation it is found that 32s. for the four books will be a fair price, and far below the average sum usually charged for similar volumes. The measures requisite for expediting the reprint have been commenced; the sums received will be brought into the general account for the year 1842, and if any advantage should accrue to the Society from the reprints, all the members will participate therein, while, as is just, they are protected from any loss.

With regard to the works in preparation for the press, those for the year 1842 are—

1. The Examinations and Writings of Archdeacon Philpot.

2. A volume of Letters, written by Bishops Jewel, Horne, Cox, and others, after their return from exile, in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Burnet and Strype speak of the value and interest of the whole collection of these Letters, but they have printed only a few of them. About one hundred and fifty Letters will, in the intended volume for 1842, be presented to the subscribers in an English Translation, made from transcripts of the autographs preserved at Zurich, authenticated by M. Gerold v. Meyer von Knonau, the Keeper of the Archives of that City. These valuable transcripts were presented to the Parker Society by the Rev. John Hunter, of Bath, who procured them at his own expense. The Latin originals will be printed, and probably will form part of the same volume.

3. A portion of the Writings of Thomas Becon, Prebendary of Canterbury, and Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, reprinted from the edition of his works published under his own superintendence, A.D. 1563, and dedicated to Archbishop Parker. This volume will be complete in itself, and will contain the Treatises and other Pieces of Becon written during the reign of Henry VIII.

4. Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations, collected by Henry Bull.

5. The Writings of Archbishop Grindall, or those of Dean Nowell, are intended to form another publication for the year 1842.

The Council have the further satisfaction to announce the following works as in preparation.

The works of Bishop Coverdale, edited by the Very Rev. Dr. Turton, Dean of Peterborough, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

A volume selected from the Manuscripts given by Archbishop Parker to the Library of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, to be edited by the Rev. Henry Calthrop, Fellow and Tutor of that College, and Canon of Lichfield.

A second volume of Letters from the Archives of Zurich, written during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary.

Arrangements for editing the Works of Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Hooper, Archbishop Whitgift, and the Liturgies and Documents of the reign of Edward VI., and some others, are under consideration. Those respecting Bishop Jewel have been suspended for the present, on learning that considerable progress has been made in printing an edition of that Prelate's works at the Oxford University Press.

The Council refer with confidence to the extensive support they have received (the number of members for 1842 exceeding 6,000), as shewing the general approval of the simple and efficient plan on which the Society is conducted, as well as the approbation of its proceedings hitherto. And thus a most important object, often attempted in vain by the ordinary course of publishing, has been successfully brought into operation by THE PARKER SOCIETY.

It appears that some of the members expected a delivery of books immediately after the payment of their subscriptions, and further deliveries at regular intervals, arranged in the chronological order in which the writers lived; but a little consideration will shew that such expectations were not warranted, and that an attempt to realize them would have been attended

with many disadvantages. The Prospectus issued at the commencement never proposed such a course, nor was it in the contemplation of those who originated the Parker Society. The varying extent of the works of the authors to be printed, and the different degrees of Editorial labour required while they pass through the press, render such a course impracticable; and many inconveniences are avoided by the present plan, the efficiency of which has been fully proved by the experience of several literary Societies. The subscriber to the Parker Society knows that the payment of the annual subscription of One Pound forms the utmost extent of his outlay, and that he incurs no risk whatever, while the due application of his single pound is guaranteed to him by a Council whose assistance could not be looked for if their responsibilities were increased. At the same time, the return to the subscriber for his small payment is *unusually* large. He is put in possession of several valuable books which are not to be procured by any other means, and which, when they come into his hands, he can arrange in any order he may prefer.

In many parts of the country facilities for carrying into effect the objects of the Society are afforded by the kind assistance of members and friends, who have offered their services in their respective neighbourhoods, and to these the best thanks of the members at large are due; and to the continuance and increase of this valuable co-operation the Council look forward with strong confidence, as the practicability and value of the plan adopted for conducting the Society already appear. By the extensive support already given, a work deemed hitherto impracticable has been brought into active operation; and by steady perseverance in the same course for a few years, a general knowledge of the principles and doctrines held and taught by Cranmer, Ridley, Parker, Whitgift, and their learned and venerable coadjutors, will be widely diffused, and rendered accessible to every member of the Church of England. Let it also be remembered that the subscription is not asked to be expended in eleemosynary or charitable efforts, although the importance of the object might well justify such an appeal, and cause it to be readily responded to. The annual advance or deposit of a pound is not solicited as a contribution: it is received that the subscriber may have returned to him, as already stated, a large amount of books, exceeding in quantity what could be offered him by common sale, and far superior to any editions yet printed, both as to the intrinsic value of the contents and the Editorial labour bestowed upon them. And by thus having books to the value of the subscription, persons of wealth may supply many individuals among the clergy, and students of divinity, with works which it is most important for them to possess, but for which it may not be practicable or convenient to them to subscribe. THE PARKER SOCIETY is indeed a general —a NATIONAL effort, and the Council cannot doubt that it will have the best wishes and active support of *every one* who duly estimates the value of those faithful and devoted followers of our blessed Redeemer who are revered as the Fathers of the Reformed English Church—men who counted not their lives dear unto them, when placed in the balance against the blessings which, by laborious and devoted efforts, they sought to secure to this Protestant Land.

LAWS OF THE PARKER SOCIETY.

I.—That the Society shall be called THE PARKER SOCIETY, and that its objects shall be—first, the reprinting, without abridgment, alteration, or omission, of the best Works of the Fathers and early Writers of the Reformed English Church, published in the period between the accession of King Edward VI. and the death of Queen Elizabeth; secondly, the printing of such remains of other Writers of the Sixteenth Century as may appear desirable (including, under both classes, some of the early English Translations of the Foreign Reformers); and thirdly, the printing of some manuscripts of the same authors, hitherto unpublished.

II.—That the Society shall consist of such a number of members, being subscribers of at least One Pound each annually, as the Council may determine; the subscription to be considered due on the First day of January in each year, in advance, and to be paid on or before such a day as the Council may fix; sufficient notice being given of the day appointed.

III.—That the management of the Society shall be vested in a President, a Treasurer, an Honorary Librarian, and a Council of twenty-four other subscribers, being members of the Established Church, and of whom not less than sixteen shall be Clergymen. The Council and Officers to be elected annually by the subscribers, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; and no persons shall then be proposed who are not already members of the Council, or Officers, unless their names shall have been transmitted to the Secretaries on or before the 15th of April in the current year, by nominations in writing, signed by at least five subscribers. And that there be two Secretaries appointed by the Council; also, that the Council have power to fill all vacancies during the year.

IV.—That the accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the Society shall be examined every year, previously to the General Meeting, by four Auditors, two of them selected from the Council, and two appointed by the preceding General Meeting.

V.—That the funds shall be expended in payment of the expenses incurred in producing the works published by the Society, so that every member not in arrear of his annual subscription shall receive a copy of every work published by the Society during the year, for each sum of One Pound subscribed, without any charge for the same; and that the number of copies printed in each year shall be limited to the quantity required for the number actually subscribed for.

VI.—That every member of the Society who shall intimate to the Council a desire to withdraw, or who shall not pay the subscription by the time

appointed, shall thereupon cease to be a member of the Society; and no member shall at any time incur any liability beyond the annual subscription.

VII.—That, after the commencement of the proceedings, no rule shall be made or altered excepting at a General Meeting, and after notice of the same has been communicated to the members by circulars, or by advertisement in two London daily newspapers, at least fourteen days before the General Meeting.

VIII.—Donations and Legacies will be thankfully received; the amount of which shall be expended by the Council in supplying copies of the publications to clerical, or other public libraries, destitute of funds to purchase the same, and for such other purposes, connected with the objects of the Society, as the Council may determine.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

The Office of the Parker Society,
33, Southampton Street, Strand, London, 30th May, 1842.

THE Auditors of the Parker Society having examined the Accounts for the year 1841, with the general statement of the Receipts and Expenditure, and the vouchers for the same,

REPORT, That the said Accounts appear to be correct and satisfactory; and that there is now a balance in hand of cash, at Messrs. HERRIES, FARQUHAR, and Co.'s, amounting to £70..19, with an Exchequer Bill for £500 and interest thereon.

They further report, That the Account for 1841 cannot be finally made up till the last book printed with the subscription for that year is ready; and that the amount estimated to be paid thereon is about £480.

HENRY POWNALL.
JOSEPH HOARE.
JOSIAH PRATT, JUN.

FURTHER REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

The Auditors of the Parker Society having examined the items of Receipt and Expenditure since their last report, completing the Accounts for the year 1841, find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And they further report, That the following is a correct Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society for the first year of its proceedings, leaving a balance of £110..2..7, for the year 1841, in the hands of the Treasurer.

HENRY POWNALL.
JOSEPH HOARE.
JOSIAH PRATT, JUN.

30th June, 1842.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE RECEIPTS AND OF

For the

RECEIVED.	£.	s.	d.
Received for the Subscriptions of Members	4113	15	5
Donation, Sir Walter R. Farquhar, Bart.	5	0	0
Ditto, Rev. M. S. Wall, Student of Christ Church, Oxford	10	0	0
Ditto, W. A. Garratt, Esq.	5	0	0
Ditto, George Stokes, Esq.	5	0	0
Ditto, Misses Ridley	2	0	0
	4140	15	5
Balance of the Exchequer Bill Account for the year 1841, being the amount received for Interest and increased Premium on the temporary investment	115	17	10
Total of Receipts for the year	£4256	13	3

THE EXPENDITURE OF THE PARKER SOCIETY,

Year 1841.

PAID.	£.	s.	d.
Paid for Printing, Circulars, Plans, Postage, Stationery, and various expenses in the formation of the Society (not including any charge for personal services), previous to 17th November, 1840	39	0	10
Printing and Paper of the Books published by the Society for the year 1841	2265	7	9
Binding and delivering ditto	805	0	5
Insurance from Fire	4	17	6
Editorial expenses	310	0	0
Books purchased, and for Transcripts	46	17	4
Plans of the Society, Reports, Circulars, Lists of Members, and Advertisements	263	6	1
Remuneration to Agents in London for receiving subscriptions, and otherwise, in connexion with the business of the Society, and use of the Committee-room, before the establishment of the Office	57	15	6
Rent of Office, Salary of Registrar, and Wages, half a year, to the end of 1841	174	15	0
Furniture and fittings for the Office and Store-rooms	72	7	9
Stationery and Account Books	26	18	10
Incidentals, Postage, Carriage, Coals, and various petty expenses	80	3	8
Total of Expenditure for the year	4146	10	8
Balance, Cash in the Treasurer's hands	110	2	7
Total	£4256	13	3

HENRY POWNALL,
JOSEPH HOARE,
JOSIAH PRATT, JUN., } *Auditors.*

THE FOLLOWING NAMES, WITH OTHERS, IN THE WHOLE MORE THAN

Four Thousand,

ARE IN THE LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE YEAR 1841, TO

THE PARKER SOCIETY.

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY ADELAIDE, QEEEN DOWAGER.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT,
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PRUSSIA.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF KENT.

His Grace the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.
His Grace the DUKE OF SUTHERLAND.
The Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.
The Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF BUTE.
The Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF CHOLMONDELEY.
The Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE.
The Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.
The Right Honourable the EARL OF GALLOWAY.
The Right Honourable the EARL OF CHICHESTER.
The Right Honourable the EARL HOWE.
The Right Honourable the EARL OF CLANCARTY.
The Right Honourable the EARL JERMYN.
The Right Honourable VISCOUNT ARBUTHNOTT.
The Right Honourable VISCOUNT DE VESCI.
The Right Honourable VISCOUNT LORTON.
The Right Honourable and Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER.
The (late) Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD.
The (late) Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF SODOR AND MANN.
The Right Honourable and Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF CLOGHER.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.
The (late) Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY FERNS AND LEIGHLIN.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY, FERNS, AND LEIGHLIN.
The Honourable and Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF KILLALOE.
The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
The (late) Right Reverend the BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.
The Right Reverend the BISHOP OF MORAY.
The Right Reverend the BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
The Right Reverend the BISHOP OF NEW JERSEY.
The Right Reverend the BISHOP OF VIRGINIA.
The Right Honourable LORD LYTTELTON.
The Right Honourable LORD CALTHORPE.
The Right Honourable LORD RAYLEIGH.
The Right Honourable LORD TEIGNMOUTH.
The Right Honourable LORD ASHLEY, M.P. (Pr[illegible])
The Right Honourable and Reverend LORD WRIOTH[illegible]LEY R[illegible]
The Right Honourable and Reverend LORD ARTHUR HERVEY
The Right Honourable LORD GEORGE A. HILL.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE ERSKINE.
THE RIGHT HON. HENRY GOULBURN, M.P. FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
THE VERY REVEREND GEORGE WADDINGTON, D.D., DEAN OF DURHAM.
THE VERY REVEREND THOMAS GARNIER, D.C.L., DEAN OF WINCHESTER.
THE VERY REVEREND HUGH PEARSON, D.D., DEAN OF SALISBURY.
THE HONOURABLE AND VERY REVEREND EDWARD RICE, D.D., DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.
THE VERY REVEREND THOMAS TURTON, D.D., DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH, REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, CAMBRIDGE.
THE VERY REVEREND F. ANSON, DEAN OF CHESTER.
THE VERY REVEREND THOMAS BUNBURY GOUGH, DEAN OF DERRY.
THE HONOURABLE AND VERY REVEREND JOSEPH BOURKE, DEAN OF OSSORY.
THE VERY REVEREND JOHN CHAINE, DEAN OF CONNOR.
THE VERY REVEREND T. P. LE FANU, DEAN OF EMLY.
THE VERY REVEREND JAMES STANNUS, DEAN OF ROSS.
THE HONOURABLE AND VERY REVEREND WILLIAM HERBERT, DEAN OF MANCHESTER.
THE VERY REVEREND F. JEUNE, D.D., DEAN OF JERSEY.
THE VERY REVEREND ROBERT DALY, DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S.
THE HONOURABLE AND REVEREND T. W. LAW, CHANCELLOR OF BATH AND WELLS.
THE REVEREND DR. DEALTRY, CHANCELLOR OF WINCHESTER.
THE REVEREND H. RAIKES, CHANCELLOR OF CHESTER.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON BERNERS.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON BEVAN.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON BROWNE.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON HARE.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON HODSON.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON HOARE
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON LAW.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON LYALL.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON PHILPOT.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON SHIRLEY.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON SPOONER.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON S. WILBERFORCE.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON MANT.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON MONSELL.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON OLDFIELD.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON POWER.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON STOPFORD.
THE HONOURABLE AND VENERABLE ARCHDEACON H. S. STOPFORD.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON AUSTIN.
THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON THORP, WARDEN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.
THE REVEREND DR. GRAHAM, MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, AND LATE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. ARCHDALL, MASTER OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, AND PRESENT VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. WORDSWORTH, LATE MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND W. WHEWELL, MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. TATHAM, MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. PLUMPTRE, MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.
THE REVEREND DR. FOX, PROVOST OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.
THE REVEREND DR. SYMONS, WARDEN OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.
THE REVEREND DR. THACKERAY, PROVOST OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. AINSLIE, MASTER OF PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. FRENCH, MASTER OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
JOSHUA KING, ESQ., D.C.L., PRESIDENT OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. PROCTER, MASTER OF CATHERINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. WEBB, MASTER OF CLARE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.
THE REVEREND DR. HAMPDEN, PRINCIPAL OF ST. MARY HALL, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, OXFORD.
THE REVEREND DR. CRAMER, PRINCIPAL OF NEW-INN HALL, AND PUBLIC ORATOR OXFORD.
THE REVEREND E. CARDWELL, PRINCIPAL OF ST. AIDAN'S HALL, OXFORD.
THE REVEREND DR. SADLER, PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
THE VERY REVEREND DR. LEE, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.
THE REVEREND DR. WILLIAMSON, HEAD MASTER OF WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.
THE REVEREND DR. WORDSWORTH, HEAD MASTER OF HARROW SCHOOL
&c., &c., &c., &c., &c.

A complete list of the members of the Parker Society for 1841 has been printed, and will be delivered with the first volume for that year.

THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1842-3.

President.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ASHLEY, M.P.

Treasurer.

SIR WALTER R. FARQUHAR, BART.

Council.

REV. R. G. BAKER.—REV. C. BENSON, Master of the Temple.—REV. E. BICKERSTETH.—JOHN BRIDGES, ESQ.—JOHN BRUCE, ESQ.—REV. GUY BRYAN.—REV. RICHARD BURGESS.—REV. SAMUEL CARR.—HON. WILLIAM COWPER.—REV. W. H. COX, Vice Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.—REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.—REV. THOMAS DALE.—REV. DR. DEALTRY, Chancellor of Winchester.—REV. JOHN HARDING.—REV. EDWARD HOARE.—REV. T. H. HORNE, Canon of St. Paul's.—HON. ARTHUR KINNAIRD.—REV. DR. Mc IMER, Head Master of the City of London School.—HON. AND REV. B. NOEL.—HENRY POWNALL, ESQ.—REV. JOSIAH PRATT, JUN.—REV. M. PRESTON.—REV. DANIEL WILSON.

Honorary Librarian.

GEORGE STOKES, ESQ., Colchester.

Editorial Secretary.

R JAMES SCHOLEFIELD, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge.

Secretary for General Business.

AM M. THOMAS, ESQ., at the Office of the Society, 33, Southampton Street, Strand, London.

Auditors.

Rev. R. HANKINSON, and JOSEPH HOARE, ESQ.

Bankers.

MESSRS. HERRIES, FARQUHAR, AND CO., No. 16, St. James's Street.

REGULATIONS FOR DELIVERY OF THE BOOKS PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

I. They will be delivered, free of expense, at the Office, or within three miles of the General Post Office, London.

II. They will be sent to any place in England beyond the distance of three miles from the General Post Office, by any conveyance a Member may point out. In this case the parcels will be booked at the expense of the Society, but the carriage must be paid by the Members to whom they are sent.

II. They will be delivered, free of expense, at any place in London which a Member, resident in the country, may name.

V. They may remain at the Office of the Society until the Members apply for them, but, in that case, the Society will not be responsible for any damage which may happen from fire, or other accident.

V. They will be sent to any of the Correspondents, or Agents of the Society, each Member paying the Correspondent, or Agent, a share of the carriage of the parcel in which the books were included. Arrangements are making for the delivery on this plan in many of the cities and large towns where a sufficient number of members reside; *and it will be esteemed a favour if gentlemen who are willing to further the objects of the Parker Society, by taking charge of the books for the Members in their respective neighbourhoods, will write to the Office on the subject.*

VI. They will be delivered in Edinburgh and Dublin as in London, and forwarded from thence to Members in other parts of Scotland and Ireland, in the same manner as is mentioned above with respect to England.

THE OFFICE OF THE PARKER SOCIETY, 33, SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

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